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# The Unpublished Tracks of Snowman or Yeti

By W. TSCHERNEZKY and C. R. COOKE*

This is the first of two articles concerning the Snowman or Yeti. The first part discusses the nature of the animal responsible for the tracks. In the second, C. R. Cooke contributes a note on one area in which similar footprints have been seen.

## UNNOTICED DISCOVERIES BY E. SHIPTON AND M. WARD

The mysterious footprint photographed by E. Shipton in the Everest region during his reconnaissance in 1951 is well known (Figure 1A) and has aroused special interest by virtue of the very clear impression and the footprint's quite distinctive character. This article, apart from discussing in constructive manner the kind of creature which can have left such a unique print, intends also to show that Shipton's discovery is not isolated and that there is corroborative support from two earlier photographs by C. R. Cooke.

Shipton took two shots of the same exclusively clear and well-preserved footprint: first one with an ice-axe laid alongside and another with an alpine boot. Unfortunately the hand of the photographer moved slightly between the shots and slightly different aspects of the surroundings were fixed. In the right lower corner of both photographs can be seen the fore part of a second footprint. If the photograph with an ice-axe is superimposed on the photograph with the boot, there will be received a much more complete picture of the fore part of the second footprint and particularly of its first toe (Figure 1B). In the first track are seen the smallest details down to the snow partitions between imprints of each particular toe. Unfortunately, print B is not clear, it is larger and

* We are most grateful to the Royal Geographical Society, Alpine Club and Mount Everest Foundation for helping us with the precise photographs of Yeti tracks; to Professor J. Napier, Dr G. B. Schaller, Dr W. C. Osman-Hill for permission to use their materials; to Dr K. P. Okley and Mr J. E. Hill for kind assistance in using materials of the Natural History department of the British Museum; to mountaineers and explorers, Mr E. Shipton, Dr M. Ward, Mr H. Tilman, Lord Hunt and Mr G. Creighton, for information and important details; to Mr J. B. Kirkham and Mr J. Pacey for help during photographic experiments; to my mother, Mrs Helene Tschernezky, for skilful advice during illustration work.

The discovery, photographing and first original description of the Yeti tracks on the ground belong to Cooke; the zoological aspects of the article are written by Tschernezky.



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details have disappeared. Presumably the difference is accounted for by localised differences in the surface layer of crusted snow and of the hardness of the underlying stratum when the footprints were made and the effects of strong sun at the time when the photographs were taken. But the general outlines show the same characteristics for Snowman's foot structure — the short, thick and deviated big toe, the longest and also very thick and clearly separated from the neighbouring second toe, and small and closely pressed together third, fourth and fifth toes.

To some extent it is possible to reconstruct the basic shape of two other footprints. The rows of Snowman's tracks were photographed by Shipton from the rear side (Figure 2) and from the front with Dr M. Ward staying near them (Figure 3). Because the photographs were taken from an angle, the original shape of footprints was changed. If during printing the photographic papers are kept not parallel to the negatives as is usual, but at *an angle* similar to that at which the camera was held by Shipton, positive pictures will then appear to some extent restored to their original shape.

On Figure 4 is shown the first reconstructed track from Figure 2. On it is clearly seen the deviating big toe, but other details disappeared.

On Figure 3 the third Snowman's footprint is not damaged and after reconstruction it is possible to see restored the Snowman's track and also restored in the same way the imprint of the alpine boot (Figure 5). The reconstructed imprint of the boot demonstrates objectively the degree of exactness of the reconstructions of the Snowman's tracks: the details are missing, but the general outlines restored correctly. It also shows again, that the Snowman's footprint is slightly longer but about twice as broad as the large alpine boot. On Figure 5 and on the enlarged picture (Figure 6) is clearly seen the imprint of a short, thick and slightly bent big toe well separated from the second one by a snow ridge. These two reconstructed tracks show common features between themselves and also with the precisely clear one on Figure 1A, like very large size, great breadth, separated big toe, and complete absence of imprints of claws. Figures 2 and 3 also indicate that the Snowman walks in a human bipedal manner and not like a bear.

First, the Snowman's toes appeared to be directed outwards, similar to the tracks of Dr Ward on Figures 3 and 5, but not inwards as is seen clearly in the row of tracks (trail) of the brown bear (Figure 7).

Second, it is impossible to find among them shorter and longer tracks of fore and hind paws as it is also clearly seen on the previous picture.



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## PHOTOGRAPHY BY C. R. COOKE

It seems probable that Shipton and Ward's discovery is not isolated or even the first occasion when such prints have been individually photographed. In 1940 Cooke took two photographs of similar tracks, not on snow, but on stony soil (Figures 8 and 9). In a letter to me he wrote:

> The only two photographs I have of the footprints are one of the right foot and one of the left foot crossing a footpath at an altitude of about 13,500 ft. near a place called Megutang, shown on the 1" - 2 miles Survey of India Map of Sikkim at about seven miles due south of Kang La. The prints are not quite clear enough for publication, so they have never been published, but one at least shows such a remarkable similarity to the prints seen by Shipton on the Everest reconnaissance (1951) that they are beyond doubt made by the same animal.
>
> It is a pity that the prints are not more clear, but the reason was that it was late in the afternoon and the prints were not fresh, perhaps 3 or 4 days old.
>
> The two tracks, of which I am sending you the photos, were found in the month of May (29th or 30th) 1940. The situation was above tree line with a certain amount of shrub, bushes and dwarf rhododendrons and rocks on a gently sloping hillside. The prints showed that the Yeti was walking uphill amongst the rocks and had crossed the footpath which was stony and slightly soft and muddy from rain which had fallen three or four days before. The stride was about the same as that of average man. From the depth of the impressions I would say that, considering the large area of the foot, the weight must be above that of an average man. We thought of all sorts of possibilities, such as a coolie wearing grass shoes (a habit more common in the Western Himalayas) and carrying a load. But this was extremely unlikely, as the place was very far from any sort of habitation, there were no yak herds in the area and there would not be occasion for any ordinary man to walk across the path up the hillside. The place was extremely desolate, bare, rocky and featureless.
>
> The prints were seen first by the coolies and porters who were walking ahead of my wife and myself. They stopped and gathered round them and when we came up we asked them what they were looking at. They pointed to the prints and said " jungli admi sahib " (meaning the wild man). I was impressed by the matter of fact way in which there was no doubt in their minds as to the cause of the prints. They were not trying to impress *us* they were merely interested on their



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own account. We had three Sherpa porters with us and about six coolies and Ang Tharkay as Sirdar, and we questioned them all at some length in camp that evening in order to collect as much information about the Yeti as possible. All agreed that the Yeti has brownish rather long hair over most of the body, walks mostly on two feet and is about the size of a man. One of them said that the female has rather long breasts which hang down. We asked them of course if anyone had seen one, but none had.

Cooke's photographs as compared with Shipton's are not so clear and complete. Also the photographs were taken late in the afternoon in cloudy conditions so lighting was poor, and the pictures were taken at an angle instead of directly over the prints because in the case of Figure 9, he tells me, it was at the side of the path and partly under bushes through which the animal had pushed its way, and in the case of Figure 8, because his camera was not capable of focussing sharply to less than about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Also, Cooke's photographs have the advantage of showing prints made on soil and any question of alteration or enlargement due to melting snow does not arise. Also, the animal walking on stony ground was forced to expand its toes more which helps to throw some light on the anatomy of the foot.

On the basis of Cooke's photographs the following can be inferred about the structure of the animal's foot.

1. They may be fractionally shorter than Shipton's prints but still very large, not less than 12 inches long.

2. Correcting from Figure 8 with the sunglasses as a clue for the angle of the photographs, they were broad, i.e., about 50 per cent of its length across the middle of the foot, and much broader in shape than the foot of any existing human race or known living primate or the fossil impression of Neanderthal man.

3. The hallux or big toe is flexible and can be adducted (Figure 8) or abducted (Figure 9) resembling the mobility of the big toe in footprints of the mountain gorilla,[1] see Figures 14 and 15. In Cooke's photographs this digit is less bent and pressed into the ground than we see in Figure 1A where a step has been taken on snow. Thus the big toe appears longer than in Shipton's photograph and, taking their lengths in conjunction with the slope of the hill (slightly upwards to the left) the toes show signs of being placed in the order 2-3-4-1-5 (digital formula), the second toe being the longest. The same digital formula can be observed on

[1] G. B. Schaller, *The Mountain Gorilla,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1963, pp. 86-87.



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the atavistic foot of the Australian Aborigine described by Klaatsch (Figure 16).[2]

According to the Shipton photograph the shortest is the first toe and digital formula is 2-3-4-5-1, which means that the hallux is shorter than on the tracks discovered by Cooke, unless as would seem probable, the toes were deliberately retracted to grasp less solid substances while walking on crusted snow.

To clear up this contradiction the following experiment was conducted: as in my previous experiments[3] an exact copy in paraffin-wax (Figure 17) was made of the plaster cast and this produced the tracks very similar to the Shipton photograph. The exactness of the plaster model was proved by the production of artificial tracks (Figure 18). When this new paraffin-wax model was softened in warm water and its hallux, second toe and the outside half of the hill were stretched out, there appeared the model of Snowman's foot as if the creature was treading on firm ground (Figure 19). Its general length increased up to 34 centimeters or 14 inches. The hallux appeared to be slightly longer than the fifth and slightly shorter than the fourth toe. It means that the digital formula is the same as on the tracks photographed by Cooke and the feet of the Australian Aborigine photographed by Klaatsch.

4. In Cooke's photographs the tracks are not clearly distinguished from the surroundings and there is no clearly visible separate imprint of the very characteristic second toe. To make contours of the footprints more clear, on the Figures 10 and 11 the background was covered by process white and also schematic drawings were prepared (Figures 12 and 13). On the second footprint (Figures 9, 11 and 13) it will be seen that the second toe is the longest, more protruding forward than the first and the third one. On the first footprint (Figures 8, 10 and 12) the big toe or hallux is less deviated than on the previous one and even as on the track on Figure 1A.

The imprint of the second digit is not at all clear in Cooke's photograph because there is a stone exactly where the toe must come on the ground. This stone shows signs of having moved under pressure and furthermore, in the original contact photograph, with the help of a magnifying glass, it is possible to distinguish on the white surface of the stone the darker shade of mud left on it by the long second toe. This is indicated in the schematic drawing (Figure 12) by rows of dots. The imprints of the third, fourth and fifth toes are more separated than in Shipton's photograph as might be expected under the changed conditions.

[2] H. Klaatsch, "Schluse ericht über meine Australien in den Jahren," *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie,* Berlin, 1907, Heft IV and V, pp. 670-671.

[3] W. Tschernezky, "Reconstruction of the Foot of the 'Abominable Snowman,'" *Nature,* Vol. 186, No. 4723, pp. 496-497.



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Another important common feature, clearly seen in Figures 1A, 8 and 10, is that the deepest depression in the ground is on the outer side of the print between the fifth toe and the front part of the heel, except that in Cooke's case more weight has been placed on the outside of the foot and heel. The rear outline of the heel shows some similarity in both cases, in particular a tendency to an obtuse angle in the outer curve of the heel.

Superimposed across the middle of the footprint is a foreign squarish imprint, but Cooke comments on this in the second part of this article.

## STRANGE FOOTPRINTS ON THE STONE DESCRIBED BY H. W. TILMAN

In the Tibetan monastery near the Rongbuk glacier on the north side of Mount Everest Tilman and his companions were shown in a shrine reserved for the Abbot, an unusual object which Tilman[4] describes as follows: "In one of these was a large lump of greenish-black rock, probably crystalline, measuring about 18 in. cube and weighing perhaps ½ cwt. On its smooth flat surface was the very clear impress of a large human foot." The stone was found near the Rongbuk glacier about eight miles from Mount Everest and was associated with the "Abominable" Snowman, according to information received from the monks. A relic of this kind is not readily destroyed and there is a chance that it still exists and, if one could obtain permission to visit the monastery, it could be photographed and studied. Had this print been located on a piece of clay rather than crystalline rock, it could be a fossilized print from the floor of a cave, as in the case of the tracks of Neanderthal man found in Italy. As it is, one can only guess at an explanation for a footprint, if such it be, on a crystalline rock surface, and the following suggestion is made: In ancient times human footprints were used for magical or ritual purposes and there is evidence that this tradition has persisted from prehistoric times. For example, on the rocks of Karelia in the North Western part of European USSR prehistoric people engraved on the sides of rocks outline pictures of beasts, birds, human figures and also the profiles of bare human feet — the so-called "devil's tracks" of the local population. Similar rock carvings or *helleristninger* of prehistoric origin are found in one or two places in southern Norway.

Possibly a similar tradition could have survived in Tibet up

[4] H. W. Tilman, *Mount Everest 1938*, University Press, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 99-100.



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to historic times, whereby magic powers were ascribed to large humanoid footmarks which, to preserve them, were engraved or copied on rock and kept in a monastery. The origin of such a relic could conceivably arise from finding a clear muddy imprint of a Snowman on a convenient rock in the Rongbuk region and subsequently "preserving it for ritual use by known methods dating back to the late Stone Age." Alternatively, of course, a very large human foot imprint in a rock surface could be a modern artefact and carry no significance. A study of the structure, size, proportions and digital formula as well as an examination of the material of the rock itself would probably produce an explanation.

## TRACKS OF KNOWN ANIMALS WHICH CAN BE CONFUSED WITH YETI FOOTPRINTS

Ralph Izzard in his book[5] mentions opinions expressed by some scientists that Yeti tracks are those of a langur monkey, and by others that they are simply bear tracks. Figure 20 illustrates an imprint on snow made artificially from the plaster cast of a langur right foot. One glance is sufficient to show that the narrow track of the langur with its long, thin, pointed heel bears no resemblance to the Yeti print.

Other more realistic candidates, the black and brown bears and the Giant Panda, are discussed. The small differences between the tracks of the two bear species can be ignored, but footprints as large as 12 inches in length can only be made by the largest forms, *i.e.*, the Polar, the Grizzly, or Kamchatka and the Kodiak bears. Tracks of any middle Asiatic bear cannot be longer than 10 inches without claws and usually much smaller with other obvious differences between bear and primate prints. Neither the fore nor hind paws of the black or brown bear possess a deviated big toe so characteristic of apes. In man and Snowman this digit is the thickest but in the bear it is not only the shortest but also the smallest. In a bear's paw all toes are closely pressed together and the longest are the middle ones, *viz.* third and fourth (Figure 22). Bear claw marks are also another distinguishing feature, however, bears living in rocky regions can have very short claws which are worn back, and therefore could leave nearly no marks on snow or soil.

When a bear walks, the hind parts of the paws bear much less pressure as compared with the heels of man, Yeti or gorilla, apart from which the bear's heel is comparatively narrow so that

[5] R. Izzard, *The Abominable Snowman Adventure*, Hodder and Stoughton, London.



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its heel marks appear much more pointed than the other types of plantigrade animal mentioned. In the bear the fore paws are even less plantigrade than the hind paws so that any print of the carpal region of the fore paw is usually absent, and therefore the print is shorter and relatively broader. Thus the spoor of the fore and hind limbs are readily distinguishable and show up as those of a quadruped and not a biped (Figures 7, 21 and 22).

The Giant Panda is more plantigrade than the bear, and when it walks the imprint of the carpal part of the front paws is more clearly seen. At the same time, in spite of having a broader heel the tarsal part of the print is less clearly seen on snow as the soles are abundantly covered with hair. The basic difference between the tracks of bear and panda is the imprint of the pseudo digit of the panda's fore paw. The pseudo digit is the enlarged and flexible radial sesamoid behind the first toe and acting like a sixth grasping thumb (Figure 23).

If tracks on snow have been enlarged by melting and details have disappeared, the old advice of Ernest Thompson Seton is worth following.[6] He says that the " trail " or a series of tracks with their spacing and alignment are much more valuable than a single imprint. If the quadripedal animal was walking normally, the prints of bear or panda will be irregularly spaced and the pace shorter than the $2\frac{1}{2}$ stride of the Snowman (Figure 7). However mistakes can easily be made for, if the snow is wind-blown or otherwise thinly crusted and the animal has proceeded up or downhill, it may change its gait to what Thompson Seton (*ibid*) called " perfect treading," that is to say, the hind foot is placed on the print left by the front foot. The impression is created of the quadriped having walked on two feet. This mode of walking helps in that the animal sees where he is placing his front foot on a safe spot and the hind foot automatically finds the same secure spot, at the same time the gait saves effort as less force is needed to break trail once instead of twice for each pace. Thus it is that the superimposed tracks of bear, panda or snow leopard can be confusing (Figure 24). Clear fresh tracks would nevertheless be readily distinguishable from the Yeti print on account of multiple impressions of digits in two rows. With old prints which have lost detail it would be impossible to guarantee to what type of animal they belong as the spacing would be more or less regular and would approach a human or Yeti stride, and in such case the only hope would be to follow the tracks carefully noting whether or not the pace changes at any point from a regular to an irregular pace characteristic of a quadriped.

[6] E. Thompson Seton, *Animal Tracks and Hunter Signs,* Edward Ward, London, 1960, pp. 54, 56, 69 and 157.



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## THE YETI FOOTPRINT AS A KEY TO HIS SYSTEMATIC POSITION

Skeletons (Figure 25), described by Bonch-Osmolowsky,[7] and even the footprints of Neanderthal man are well known. They look like very broad human feet and tracks but do not exceed the average human foot in length and the big toe is longer and less deviated than in some cases of modern tropical races who walk barefoot all their lives, as instance in Figure 16 already referred to and in Figure 26, the skeleton of a Veddah foot discovered by W. C. Osman-Hill.[8] The basic parts of the *Australopithecus* foot with the metatarsals but without capitulums and phalanges is also known, thanks to a discovery by L. S. B. Leakey and a reconstruction by M. H. Day and J. R. Napier.[9] Clearly, in general shape, it is a human foot (Figure 27) and superficially appears to be even less atavistic than the above-mentioned Australian aboriginal and Veddah feet.

The Yeti foot is nearer to the apes in such important features as the deviated and flexible big toe, which indicate that it belongs to a lower evolutionary level than the Australopithecine and more on a level with that which has been suggested for fossil *Gigantopithecus*. It is conceivable that a representative of this genus penetrated to remote elevated regions, like the wild Yak and the Giant Panda, and has survived there into the present century. Ecologically a Yeti primate could occupy a similar niche as the brown mountain bear as one would expect it to be similarly omnivorous and even more powerful than this representative of the Ursidae.

The following evidence shows that the Snowman or Yeti must be a real giant. On Figure 3 it is possible to compare the depth of imprints of Snowman and M. Ward, who is a tall and strong sportsman. The tracks of his alpine boot are so shallow that the instep of the boot does not touch the surface of the hard snow and the spines of the boot do not leave clearly visible impressions.

The Yeti's tracks are much deeper imprinted in hard snow — the same feature which Cooke observed on the "jungli admi" footprints on hard ground. At the same time, the surface of the Snowman's sole is not less than twice as large as that of the alpine boot (Figures 3 and 5) and not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times larger

[7] G. A. Bonch-Osmolowsky, *The Skeleton of the Foot and Shin of Fossil Man from Kiik Koba Cave*, Edition of Academy of Science of USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1954, plate A.

[8] W. C. Osman-Hill, "The Physical Anthropology of Existing Veddahs of Ceylon," *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. III, Part 3, p. 223.

[9] M. H. Day and J. R. Napier, "Hominid Fossils from Bed I, Olduvai Gorge, Tanganyika," *Nature*, Vol. 201, No. 4923, March 7, 1964, pp. 967-970.



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than the sole of gigantic gorilla, 1m. 95cm. tall (compare Figures 1 and 14). If M. Ward's weight in alpine clothing was about 12 stone, then the Yeti's weight must be much more than 24 stones. The mountain gorilla of this height must have a weight of around 500lb.; so the Snowman must be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times heavier than the gorilla or about 700-800lb.

The length of the Yeti's stride measured by Shipton was 2 feet 6 inches, which corresponded to a man at least 6 feet tall. Being a more primitive, ape-like creature Yeti must possess a much larger body comparatively with the length of the legs, or must be no less than 7 feet tall.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DISCOVERY

The photographs of Cooke and Shipton prove documentarily that an unknown large bipedal primate existed in Himalayas up to 20 years ago. No new evidence has appeared since Shipton's photographs so there is a danger that the second half of the twentieth century will see the extinction of this unique creature, just as the last mastodons were exterminated on the American continent a few hundred years before Columbus, as estimated by Henry F. Osborn[10] and Franz Spillman.[11] So. if the Snowman or Yeti is still alive, its discovery or more concrete details of its nature and anatomy are now matters of great scientific importance. It would be a supreme triumph for zoology, anthropology, theory of evolution and psychology if a single specimen could be found alive and studied.

[10] H. F. Osborn, *Proboscidea*, The American Museum Press, New York, 1936, Vol. 1, pp. 571-574.

[11] F. Spillman, "Las letzte Mastodon von Südamerica," *Natur und Museum LIX*, Heft II, February 1929, pp. 119-123.



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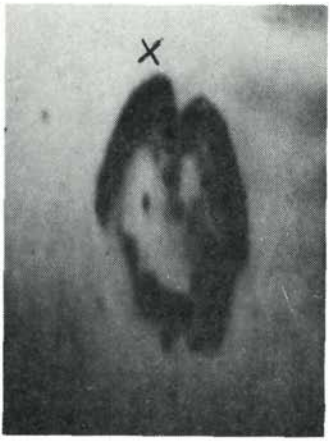

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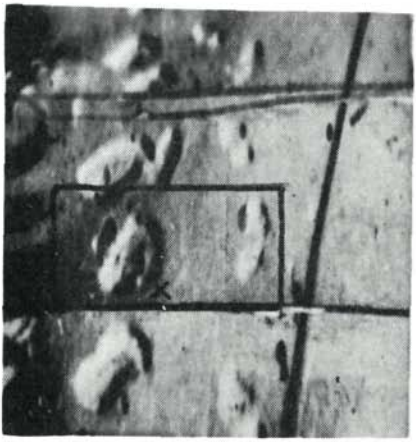

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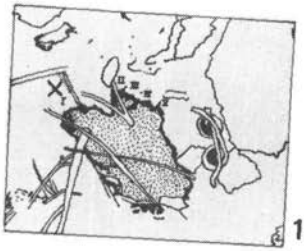

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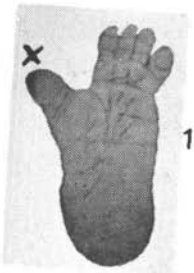

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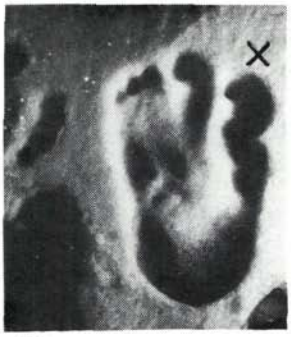

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1—Snowman's tracks photographed by E. Shipton. First digit marked by X as on all following pictures. A—Well-known photograph with ice-axe. B—Second Snowman's footprint with more complete picture of the first toe after superimposing two photographs.

Figure 2—Snowman's trail photographed from behind.

Figure 3—Snowman's trail photographed from the front.

Figure 4—Reconstructed first footprint from Figure 2.

Figure 5—Reconstructed third Snowman's footprint from Figure 3 and imprints of alpine boots.

Figure 6—The same Snowman's footprint as on Figure 5 enlarged.

Figure 7—The trail of European brown bear.

Figure 8—The Snowman's footprint on the ground photographed from left side (copyright C. R. Cooke).

Figure 9—The Snowman's footprint on the ground photographed from behind (copyright C. R. Cooke).

Figure 10—The same footprint as on Figure 8 with covered background.

Figure 11—The same footprint as on Figure 9 with covered background.

Figure 12—Schematic drawing of the footprint on Figure 8. The figure indicated the toes.

Figure 13—Schematic drawing of the footprint on Figure 9. The figure indicated the toes.

Figure 14—The footprint of gigantic mountain gorilla with expanded toes taken by S. Freshkop from dead animal.

Figure 15—The footprint of mountain gorilla with contracted toes (G. B. Schaller).

Figure 16—Atavistical feet of Australian Aborigine (H. Klaatsch).

Figure 17—The paraffin wax model of Snowman's foot.

Figure 18—Artificial Snowman's track on snow produced by model.

Figure 19—Expanded paraffin wax model of Snowman's foot.

Figure 20—Artificial track of Langur's right foot on snow made by cast.

Figure 21—Footprints on the snow of left fore and hind paw of brown bear.

Figure 22—Artificial footprints on the clay of left fore and hind paw of brown bear taken from skin.

Figure 23—Footprints of the left fore and hind paw of Giant Panda on the snow.

Figure 24—Artificial superimposed footprint of brown bear on clay taken from skin.

Figure 25—Skeleton of the right foot of Neanderthal Man. (G. A. Bonch-Osmolowsky.)

Figure 26—Skeleton of the left foot of Veddah (W. C. Osman-Hill, in custody of British Museum of Natural History).

Figure 27—The foot of *Australopithecus* (M. H. Day and J. R. Napier).



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# Yeti Country

By C. R. COOKE

## INTRODUCTION

I have been encouraged by Dr Tschernezky, who is known for his intensive studies of available data into the nature of the Yeti, to contribute this paper as Part 2 of a joint article on the Yeti. The paper consists of notes on circumstances in which I have come across strange tracks and the typical environment in which this animal may still exist. The subject of the Yeti is discussed in innumerable books and publications in many languages and some of these extend the range of such creatures over much of mountainous Southern, Central and Eastern Asia, but these notes are confined to the Himalayas in general and to Sikkim in particular where I have climbed and travelled on many occasions during 24 years' service in India.

## HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Strange isolated tracks — suggestive of human footprints — have, since before the turn of the century, been reported on many occasions by travellers and mountaineers visiting the remoter parts of the Himalayas. In ancient records and from earliest times down to the present day belief in at least one variety of wild hairy man has persisted all over the Himalayas from the Karakorams in the west through Ladakh, Tibet and Nepal to Sikkim, Bhutan and Upper Burma in the east. In support of this there are many tales of a large ape-like man being seen and described by local inhabitants and herdsmen of these parts of Asia and also on rare occasions by Europeans.

Local accounts are so often embroidered with superstitious detail engendered by fear that they tend to be discounted and passed off as myth and, until 1921, attracted little scientific attention. In that year however, world-wide interest was aroused by a report from the first Mount Everest Reconnaissance Expedition to the effect that at 21,000 ft. near the Lakhpa La a series of large apparently bipedal tracks was found in the snow. These the Tibetan porters declared to be left by the " meteh Kangmi " which someone, in a cheerful translation, dubbed " The Abominable Snowman." The name delighted the Press and quickly became universal in nearly all the European languages. The local Lepcha name in Sikkim is Sokpa and in Nepal and parts of Tibet the Yeti.



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The Sherpa word "Yeti" or "Yeh-teh" is a Tibetan term meaning a man-like animal which lives in rocky territory, but in Nepal and Tibet there are considered to be two types: the larger "Dzu-teh" or "yak-eating" species and the smaller "Mi-teh" or man-like species. There is in Tibet some confusion between the Dzu-teh and the Himalayan red bear (*Ursus arctos isabellinus*) of similar size and colouring, because red bear have been known to attack yaks whereas there appears to be no evidence to suggest that yaks are set upon by any kind of primate. It is possible, that there is or was a large variety of Yeti, heavy enough to be confused with the red bear, in addition to the more usually reported man-like, in other words man-sized, species. Of the many names by which similar creatures are referred to in different parts of Asia, whether or not there is more than one variety, the general name applicable to the Himalayas now accepted in English is "Yeti." There is little doubt that in past generations Yeti were much more numerous and widespread, and it seems likely that a few still survive in remote regions where they are occasionally seen or heard.

After 1921 mountaineering expeditions were on the look-out for further signs and, up to the Second World War, many sightings of likely tracks were reported and in a number of cases the animal itself was evidently seen but somehow never photographed. Doubtless in some instances tracks and animals seen at a distance were in fact bear or other known animals, but one must also suppose that on occasion the reverse applies and signs thought to be of bear *etc.* were actually those of Yeti.

In May 1940, my wife and I would, but for the keen observation of our Sikkimese coolies, almost certainly have passed over unnoticed a set of Yeti prints crossing our path high on the side of the Singalila Ridge (Figures 1 and 2). This find is discussed in the next section. After the war, with the resumption of mountaineering came the first incontrovertible evidence of the existence of the Yeti in the tracks photographed by Shipton and Ward in 1951.[1] Latterly, in spite of increasing numbers of expeditions from all over the world penetrating further into the Himalayas, when one would have expected ample supporting evidence and further photographs, positive signs of Yeti seem to have become increasingly scarce. This leads one to the sad conclusion that our evasive creature, at least in the central Himalaya, is nearing extinction. Frustrating moreover because, at the present juncture when much is being written and different accounts are being constructively collated so that the coherent picture of a real animal is beginning to emerge and the whole subject is even becoming a "respect-

[1] See Figures 1, 2 and 3 in previous article by W. Tschernezky.



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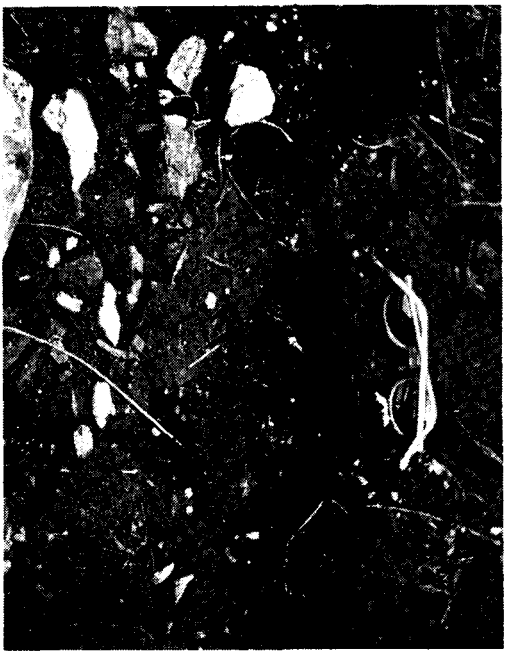

Figure 1: Snowman footprint on ground photographed from left side (C. R. Cooke)

Figure 2: Snowman footprint photographed from behind.

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able " topic for serious discussion, it now seems that he may disappear and leave but a phantom of unresolved mystery.

## FOOTPRINTS FOUND IN 1940

In May 1940, my wife and I, in company with Sirdar Ang Tharkay, two other sherpas and about eight coolies, were returning separately from a brief mountaineering trip up the Prek Chu Valley with Lord (then Major) Hunt and Lady Hunt. We had just come over the Garakhet La (14,040 ft.) to the Nepal side of the Sikkim border in the late afternoon and were proceeding southwards along the rough path that follows the 13,500 ft. contour on the west side of the Singalila Ridge, when our coolies who were a few hundred yards ahead stopped, gathered round a spot on the path and presently moved on. Two sherpas were still examining the ground when we caught up with them and, on enquiry, we were shown a series of very large pug marks on the stony soil stepping from thick bushes below on the right across and uphill to our left, and there in the middle of the path was a large unmistakably man-like footprint. A second print between the bushes on the left was followed by others proceeding diagonally up the stony scrub-covered hillside. The prints were perhaps three or four days old, but were unaltered except for slight disfiguration left by the coolies with sticks who had walked across the one in the middle of the path. The sherpas, one of whom was the world-renowned Sirdar Ang Tharkay, my life-long trusted friend on whose sincerity we could rely absolutely, said they were footmarks of the " jungli admi " (Urdu for " wild man ") and showed us where the tracks continued up the hillside. The matter arose spontaneously as there had been no previous talk of " Yeti " or " wild men."

I have been shown fairly fresh apparently bipedal tracks in soft snow on at least two other occasions — 26th October 1935 at 15,600 ft. on the East Rathong Glacier, and 27th October 1937 at 16,100 ft. near Green Lake on the Zemu Glacier, but in both cases dismissed them as useless for identification and gave them no further thought. My 1937 diary entry reads: " marks of . . . a snow leopard? (Porters say it is the Yetti or Sokpa or snowman)." I was not at that time aware that snow leopard do not occur in that part of Sikkim. These latest tracks however were something very distinct and most impressive — even more so than would appear from the photographs — they were so big. I had already had some years' experience of big-game shooting in India including bear and tiger (a sport later dropped in favour of climbing) and therefore knew something about reading and following animal tracks. There was no mistaking these. They were



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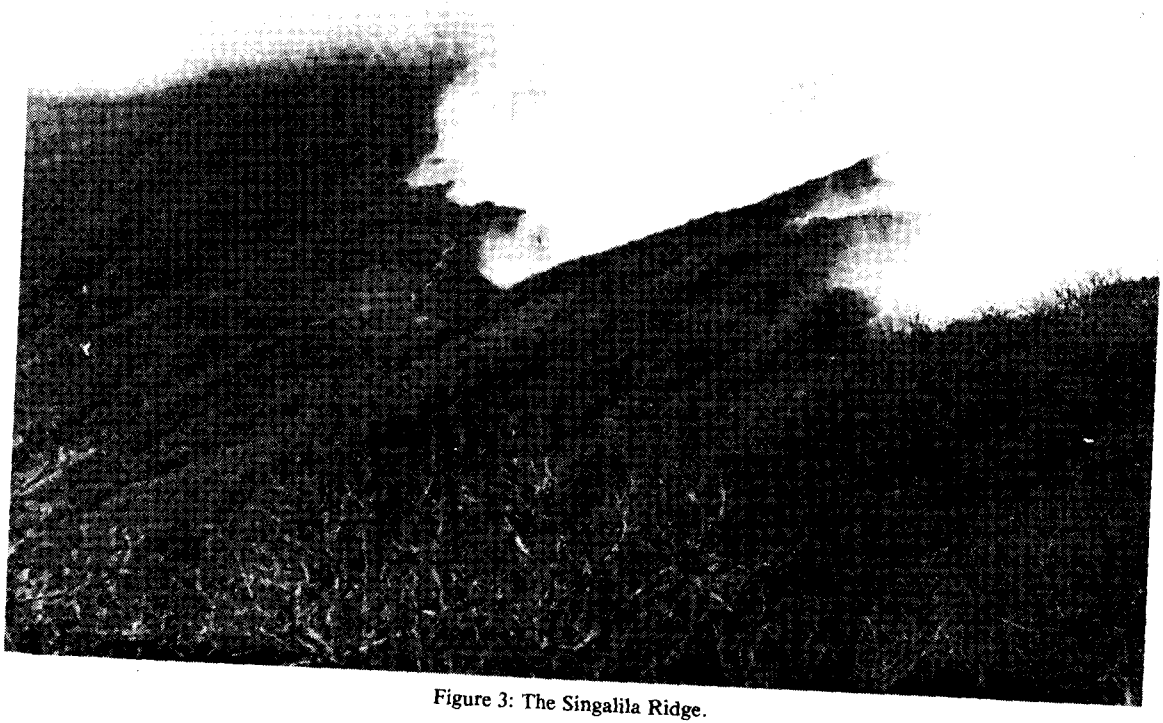

Figure 3: The Singalila Ridge.

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bipedal tracks of a very large, heavy hominid creature, too big and broad to be those of modern man, which had come up from lower down in Nepal, crossed the path and pushed its way through the undergrowth on a diagonal route roughly in the direction from which we had come and towards the main ridge 800 ft. above.

The two clearest prints were selected and photographed — Figures 1 and 2 — with my wife's sunglasses laid alongside to fix the scale. Unfortunately, although several more prints and further traces could be seen continuing further uphill, there were no others clear enough to photograph, and time did not permit of further search. Figure I is of the right foot and Figure 2 was the next in sequence and made by the left foot, but of this I cannot now be absolutely sure.

Tschernezky has expressed the opinion that Figure 9 shows another print of the animal's right foot and there might have been an intermediate step not photographed. It was difficult to take the second picture because the impression lay half obscured under bushes which had to be held aside while a picture was taken from a low angle. In both cases, owing to cloudy conditions and fading light, it was necessary to use a wide aperture which made it impossible with a slow film (Kodak Panatomic X) to stoop down and take closer vertical shots without risk of the result being badly out of focus. My camera was a 35 mm. Kodak Retina I. The correct outline could be restored by projection from an angle, using the sunglasses as a guide to size and shape.

Figure 3 shows the Singalila Ridge photographed on the next morning a few miles further down and looking back at the same path which can be seen below the cloud layer winding along in the left centre of the picture. Sikkim lies over the ridge to the right.

There is no human habitation near this area. The nearest would be at Ramthang over on the Sikkim side of the ridge some miles and 7,000 ft. down the Rimbu Chu through impenetrable forest and anyhow the tracks were headed towards uninhabited country to the north-east, making perhaps for a small lake which lies on the Sikkim side of the main divide.

The photographs were never published, partly because the war intervened and partly because later I was not satisfied that by themselves they were clear enough to warrant it and fully expected that, with the resumption of mountaineering, more conclusive evidence would soon come to light.

To my mind, however, there was never any doubt that these footprints were extremely significant and later, on seeing Shipton's famous photographs which compare closely in general shape and size and, taking the two records together from the same Kangchen-



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junga/Everest area, we have proof of the existence of a rare primate. Furthermore, I incline to the view that this could be a survivor, now restricted to the bigger glaciated valleys of the Himalayas, still existing in conditions not unlike those which must have extended over much of Europe and Asia at the retreat of the last Ice Age.

That Yeti traces of any kind are exceedingly rare is shown by the following. The area of Sikkim south and east of Kangchenjunga, was fairly frequently visited between the wars by parties of climbers and trekkers but, over a span of about 15 years I have this meagre list of reports:

1. 1924?—30 miles south of Kangchenjunga, at about 10,000 ft., one believed seen by H. Newman near Chiabanjan; too far away for study.
2. 1925—8-10 miles south-east, at 15/16,000 ft. in Talung Valley region, one seen near rhododendrons by N. A. Tombazi; brief sighting. Footprints also examined.
3. 1935—10 miles south, at 15,600 ft., track in snow shown to Cooke and G. Schoberth; doubtful Yeti.
4. 1937—12 miles east-north-east, at 16,000 ft., confused track in snow shown to Lord Hunt and C. R. Cooke; doubtful Yeti.
5. 1937—5 miles east, at 18/19,000 ft., pair of tracks followed to Zemu Gap by Lord Hunt; probably Yeti.[2]
6. 1938—5 to 6 miles east, at 18,000 ft. (?), a pair of tracks near Zemu Gap followed by two Norwegian climbers (I have not read their account).
7. Year?—6 to 8 miles south-east, at 15/16,000 ft. (?), pair of tracks reported seen on Tongshyong Glacier; account not read.
8. 1940—20 miles south, at 13,500 ft., single track photographed on hillside by Cooke. See Figures 1 and 2.

After the war this area was closed following the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese.

## THE SIKKIM ENVIRONMENT

Setting aside plain scepticism, it is constructive to consider reasons for the extreme scarcity and sporadic nature of the evidence supporting the existence of the Yeti as a descendant of a pre-hominid group of animals, man-like in build and still unknown to science.

Looking back over the recent history of man's presence in the Himalayas it is not surprising that a large, rare, very active and

[2] Odette Tchernine, *Explorers' and Travellers' Tales*, Heron Books Ltd., 18 St Ann's Crescent, London, SW18.



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hardy, but shy and wary creature, which by its very nature must need an extensive area of special conditions in which to roam should have retreated from the encroachments of modern man and become even more scarce. There are many parallels in nature. Even primitive peoples who do not cultivate but are habituated to a roaming existence become reduced in numbers by the mere proximity of other races from outside. We have an example in Sikkim itself where, in spite of recent attempts to reserve for them some less accessible parts of the country, the Lepchas of Sikkim are dying out with the gradual influx of the new Sikkimese — Nepalis, Bhotias and other neighbouring tribes. These shy, peaceable and primitive Lepchas are remarkable in their understanding of the plants and birds of their forests and, unlike the new Sikkimese, distinguish many varieties in nature with their own specific names. Their shyness was illustrated on one occasion when I approached a little habitation consisting of two families, and my porters advised me to stay out of sight while they went ahead to explain that a white man would be passing by, otherwise the Lepchas would bolt into the forest and I would never see them. As it was, I met only one family — a man, his wife and their one child, a boy aged 12 or 14.

That conditions are in fact "special" in the great glaciated valleys of Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan is self-evident, for here they are of immense size, extending over the greatest differences in height in the world, with a high annual rainfall, strong semi-tropical sun due to the latitude, a mild winter even near the snow line and an endless variety of food due to dense, luxuriant vegetation ranging from tropical to alpine. The vegetation grades from bamboos, leech-infested undergrowth, great forest trees and creepers — alive with birds and insects — and heavy with lianas, ferns, orchids and mosses, rising through conifers, rhododendrons, grasses, rocky alpines and lichens to moraine and glacier above. More than 600 bird species have been listed in this area which covers less than 2500 sq. miles much of which is bare snow and moraine. Below the moraines and rocky uplands, the valley sides, apart from being densely wooded, are so steep that direct travel up them is virtually impossible. It is little wonder therefore that Yeti prints are found only where he has broken cover or moved up over the snow into a new area.

An actual account of the difficult nature of the country may not be out of place. In November 1937, with three fit sherpas, I crossed from the Zemu Glacier over a high pass between Simvu and Siniolchu down on to the Umaram Glacier (in those days unmapped and thought to be the Passanram Glacier) and forced a route down to the Talung, the great valley which extends for 45 miles from the eastern slopes of Kangchenjunga down to the



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Figure 4: Typical Sikkim wooded ravine.

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Teesta River in the middle of Sikkim. Within a mile of the end of the moraine, the Umaram stream entered a narrow gorge and we were forced left up the steep valley side where a route had to be cut through dense vegetation at a steep angle and blocked at intervals by steep gullies, rushing water and landslides. We had started with 12 days' food but after a week we were still floundering in thick forest a mere four or five miles from where we left the moraine.

The river we saw only once more and here I quote from my diary:

> We were struggling along making desperately slow progress, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile per hour, when we came to the bed of a stream which cuts its way through solid rock down a sort of immense gutter at a steep angle and then sheer down a sort of tunnel in the living rock 200 feet, at the bottom of which we could just discern the main stream boiling along in the darkness like a giant sewer — I have never seen such a gorge in my life, the two sides of the valley cannot be separated by more than 10 to 20 feet although 200 feet deep, perhaps the gorge is completely bridged over — we could not make out through the dense undergrowth. The route, which had been along a spur of densely forested rock towers, seemed about as difficult as it was possible for it to be . . . we then made up the side of the mountain for 100 feet and then dived into the worst jungle of the trip — a complete tangle of small stuff and thorns and briars 12 ft. high growing amongst a series of rock faces and boggy streams rushing down. We did about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and all got thoroughly exhausted. . . .

We owed our lives to Kikuli Sherpa whose eye for a jungle trail spotted that the tip of a fern frond had been sliced off by someone and impressed it upon me that there would be a track somewhere which had to be found if we were to come through. Two hours of anxious searching revealed vestiges of a trail which with great care for two days we managed to follow. It led us a most tortuous route which we nearly abandoned but fortunately kept to, for it avoided many unsuspected obstacles. In one instance we were led to the top of a sheer rock face against which a series of very large single bamboo poles had been affixed one below another 100 feet down, with notches for footholds. These took us safely past an obstacle which, on looking back, one could see would have been exceedingly dangerous at any other point, and then on past further difficulties which need not be detailed here.

Figure 4 illustrates a typical Sikkim wooded ravine, looking up-stream at the Parek Chu river at an altitude of about 7500 ft.



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By an act of providence we had found a Lepcha trail, but for which I believe we should not have escaped, because a year or so earlier, a much stronger German party — the first to cross this pass — was less fortunate and by all accounts suffered considerable privation from exhaustion and shortage of food.

So, one can appreciate why it is not easy to stalk and come upon any wild animals let alone a creature such as we visualise in the Yeti. For food the Lepchas set snares or traps in the form of sharpened bamboo spikes. Once, sliding 30 feet down a smooth rock face on my bottom, I was very nearly impaled on a row of such spikes in the forest cunningly placed on a foot from and pointing up the slope, but I spotted them and reacted quickly enough to leap clear over them.

## SOME DEDUCTIONS

Nearly all accounts of Yeti tracks or sightings agree in one aspect, namely that the animal, except in cases where it was unaware of human presence, was taking avoiding action and moving away from disturbance — climbing up over snow into another valley or retreating out of view *etc.* — *i.e.* avoiding the most dangerous of all animals, man. There is no report of any substance in which a Yeti unprovoked has attacked a man, rather one gathers that he is easily scared away by the monastic horn or any commotion. It may also be that he is nocturnal or crepuscular in habit. Tchernine says that the great Linnaeus knew of him or a similar creature and provided a niche for him in his classification of species with the name *Homo nocturnus*. In spite of his popular title, few really suppose that the Yeti lives above the snow line. Ecologically this would hardly be possible. The fact is that the only areas where his tracks are easily seen are on fresh snow which on occasion he crosses. He has not been seen chasing game, nor are there accounts of his having shed blood on the snow, whereas he has been observed rooting about amongst rhododendrons (N. A. Tombazi). H. Newman reported seeing what he believed to be a Yeti foraging on the edge of a wood in a high valley in West Sikkim. According to Izzard and Stonor there is indication that Yeti eat small animals, such as mouse hares common in rocky terrain. One Sherpa porter related to me an occasion when as a boy he was with his father, a yak-herd, when one night a Yeti scared their young yak calf which was tethered outside their hut and the intruder had to be frightened off.

Descriptions all agree that he has long hair over most of his body, colour varying from brown to grey or tawny, a pointed



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head, deep set eyes, no tail, a human-like countenance, that he walks bipedally and is about the size of a man.

Isolated descriptions refer in some cases to long, pendant breasts in the female; in other rare cases great size is claimed, perhaps seven feet or more. He is not reported below about 12,000 ft. The Yeti presumably is omnivorous, supplementing a vegetarian diet with small animals, fish or anything that he can catch and lives near but below the permanent snow-line.

There is only one animal he could reasonably be confused with and that is the Himalayan so-called red bear (*isabellinus*) — which Tschernezky tells me can vary widely in colouring from reddish brown to fawn or nearly white, but there is no chance of either Shipton's photographs or mine resembling bear tracks. In any case the red bear occurs in the Western Himalaya but not in Sikkim. The much smaller Himalayan Black Bear with the white markings on his chest (I once kept a cub nearly full grown) does occur and can be a nuisance to villagers living in the higher valleys and doubtless at a distance has been mistaken for a Yeti, but he does not venture on to the snow, nor is he bipedal — he can totter upright for a few paces. Generally speaking there is not much chance of confusion, for large animals are not numerous in Sikkim above 6,000 to 8,000 ft. Percy Brown in his book entitled *Tours in Sikkim* under the heading of " Big Game " says: " In the true sense of the word there is no big game in Sikkim " and, except near the Tibet frontier, the only large animals likely to be seen are the Burhel (*Ovis Nahura*) and the wild goat (*Nemorhaedus Goral*). Tahr are rare and sambhur, barking deer, pig and leopard occur at lower altitudes. The snow leopard does not seem to be recorded in Sikkim.

Without over-exercising the imagination, the Yeti has points of resemblance with the gorilla. He does not, like the chimpanzee, move about in troops but usually singly or in pairs. He is too heavy to be arboreal, is probably as already suggested omnivorous, frequently walks erect and is wary and unaggressive. He seems to have a whistling or high-pitched call and a deep " roar " if roused. His feet are somewhat like but even broader than the gorilla and, in some specimens — perhaps the older males — seems to be very large and greyer in colouring. Local opinion is universal in regarding him as more man-like than ape-like though he seems not able to speak. So far no one has found a cave with evidence of Yeti occupation, but caves in Sikkim are not common and such " caves " as exist are no more than rocky overhangs affording shelter from the rain. Such are used by the Lepchas. Presumably therefore, like the gorilla, the Yeti nests on the ground in wooded country where a dry spot is not hard to find, or perhaps amongst the densely tangled rhododendron scrub so



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common on the hillsides. It took Schoberth and me two whole days of hacking with the assistance of our men to cut a way through tall rhododendrons (we camped in the middle of them) to reach grass near the snout of the Rathong Glacier.

I have heard only one report of a dead specimen being found, but in forest country dead animals are quickly scavenged and leave no trace. According to this report, which is here repeated for what it is worth with no claims as to reliability, told to me (if my memory serves) in 1929 by Tashi Dhondhup of the earlier Everest expeditions, apparently some of the party had descended to a valley in Nepal to recuperate. There the porters met a couple of yak herdsmen who told them they had come up earlier in the spring of the same year to graze their yaks and found the body of a Yeti at the foot of an avalanche slope half submerged in a small mountain lake, and it seems that the information was not relayed to the other members of the expedition.

It is possible that the males attain much greater size than the females, or there may be two distinct species, one a large very rare animal perhaps over six or seven feet when standing upright, well adapted to negotiating glacier country and cold conditions on the high passes en route to new feeding areas; and another nearer five feet in stature about which the lamas tell their stories. There is even talk of three kinds but we have still to see photographs or the bones of a single variety.

## THE FUTURE

Vast though the Himalayan complex of mountains may be, once disturbed and removed to another area, there again to be disturbed, the Yeti is likely to be deprived of sufficiently large and isolated areas in which to live. For where can he go? Not south to India or north to Tibet — he can only shift from one area to another. The modern populations have penetrated all the easier valleys and the mountaineering fraternity are fast dealing with the rest.

The explosion of climbing activity among these mountains must be invading the last of the really sizeable and plant-rich areas where a truly wild creature can hope to roam and breed. The highly organised, heavily financed and artificial exercises with groups of up to 15 or 20 mountaineers and "experts" with their retinues of coolies, porters, baggage trains, camps and commotion are a strain on even the local economy so cannot fail to have an impact on the wild life, especially a scarce, elusive creature such as a Yeti. Even by Himalayan standards the number of expeditions is not small. In 1970 alone more than 60 mountaineering expeditions from all over the world were granted



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permits and between them assailed more than 140 peaks from the Karakorams to the Tibet-Bhutan border. There is no count of all the other activities: scientific investigations, military patrols, trekking, shooting and new cultivation. Even the closure of the Tibet border by the Chinese, or the political restrictions imposed by India on entry into Sikkim and Bhutan alters the situation little. The Yeti can only retreat to a few high valleys in perhaps Sikkim or the odd corner of Nepal or Bhutan or the Shan States if there are any lofty unoccupied valley systems big enough. Otherwise it is hard to see how the species can survive — at least in the Himalayas.

The whole position is unsatisfactory. Is this man-ape a reality and is he in danger of becoming extinct? These are questions which demand an answer — if only for reasons of saving a rare and unique primate.

I have long held the view that the only hope of discovering and photographing a Yeti is through the exercise of great skill and patience, aptly summarised in the words of Mira Behn: "Humility is needed in the search for this mysterious living species." I visualise a very small party of perhaps two competent and physically fit observers, living rough and "on the country" and prepared to move about and watch by day or night unobtrusively without tents, porters and the usual Western paraphernalia, who would as it were melt into the country, remain three or four years becoming accepted by the locals without interference on either side and tactfully enlisting help and advice from isolated herdsmen, forest dwellers, small Lepcha communities and the like. Rare dedication would be required, there would be political difficulties to negotiate, bona fides to be established, language and local customs to be understood and confidence and co-operation to be won from village headsmen, kazis, priests in the shape of simple friendship. The only weapon would be the camera and the party would need to train in various skills including forestry, safari and healthy survival apart from the more obvious faculties of zoology, botany and photography.

Such Yeti as still survive will owe their existence to a combination of their own handy elusive nature, the extreme ruggedness of their environment and, most important, the accident of the prevailing Buddhist religion which proscribes the taking of wild life, especially the Yeti which in effect is held sacrosanct.

The discovery of our super-ape, with some information as to his nature or anatomy, would be a matter of such profound interest to the scientific world that he could at once fall into a more precarious situation than applies already, and a miracle of international co-operation would be needed to avert eventual tragedy. It is sure that this creature has existed and, if still alive,



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is now on the way out, so time matters and a search should be made but with preservation as its main object. The consequences of a wrongly inspired search for knowledge in this field need to be widely appreciated so that timely and powerful action can be taken to save this creature and a part of his world before he disappears for ever. A successful outcome has the makings of becoming the greatest triumph ever for zoology or anthropology — whichever — and for modern wild life preservation.

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# The Ethnical Basis of the Stature of the Italians: Part III

By MARIO CAPPIERI

## DISCUSSION ON THE STATURAL DATA OF THE ITALICS

The statural means of the various Italic "peoples" (or *stirpi* or "nations") show a constant and relatively regular increase from south to north of the peninsula which had vast extensions of sea on three sides — west, south and east. Consequently the Italics were rather isolated, without relation to other ethnias, except to the north where they came in contact with Etruscans and Celts.

I assume, therefore, that the variations of their statural values are due to social, economic and environmental factors: (a) poor or primitive conditions of life; (b) strict endogamy in their society; (c) influence of the mountainous and/or woody territory; (d) great variety of the orography of their territory; (e) differential influence of inland and coastal regions; (f) "coastal" influence; (g) "chief town" influence.

These various forces, acting sometimes independently, sometimes convergently, have greatly affected the value of the fundamental position of the Italics in a unitarian stock. The degree of these factors is clearly evident when analysing the statural data of the "peoples." Their means change constantly and regularly at a modest rate proceeding from the most southern regions. Like an ascending scale, the statural mean increases by degrees from Calabria northwards up to the territory of the Etruscans and Celts. Such a trend clearly has not genetic (racial) basis because of its regular rise, while it answers to conditions of life and to environment. There were "peoples" very much segregated, living poorly in hard, rough, rugged, mountainous or woody regions, with a society of strict endogamy and with no coastal relation.

They had not acquired, during the course of time, the evolutionary forces which could influence their statural increase. This is the typical aspect of the most southern Italic "peoples": Lucaneans, stature 1643, and Bruttiis, 1646. The same type of increasing trend was already evident a century ago. Utilising Livi's data on the recruits born in 1859-1863 I elaborated his data and compared them with mine. With the results I compiled Table 1, in which I indicated, for each Italic "people" (19) the statural mean of a century ago and that shown in the present



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TABLE 1

*Italic "peoples" — Statural means of Livi's series of recruits born in 1859-1863 and the corresponding series of present ones calculated by Cappieri, in ascending order from south to north of the peninsula*

| *"Peoples"* | *Livi* | *Stature Diff.* | *Cappieri* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lucaneans | 1672 | 16 | 1643 |
| | 4 | | 3 |
| Bruttiis | 1631 | 15 | 1646 |
| | 2 | | 2 |
| Samnitis | 1629 | 19 | 1648 |
| | 0 | | 4 |
| Picentineans | 1629 | 23 | 1652 |
| | 4 | | 1 |
| Opiceans | 1633 | 20 | 1653 |
| | 4 | | 2 |
| Auruncis | 1637 | 14 | 1651 |
| | 9 | | 4 |
| Fraentaneans | 1628 | 27 | 1655 |
| | 1 | | 1 |
| Marrucineans | 1629 | 27 | 1656 |
| | 7 | | 13 |
| Paeligneans | 1636 | 33 | 1669 |
| | 16 | | 0 |
| Herniceans | 1620 | 49 | 1669 |
| | 13 | | 1 |
| Vestineans | 1633 | 37 | 1670 |
| | 5 | | 5 |
| Volscheans | 1628 | 47 | 1675 |
| | 7 | | 0 |
| Aequeans | 1635 | 40 | 1675 |
| | 0 | | 0 |
| Marsicans | 1631 | 44 | 1675 |
| | 4 | | 0 |
| Sabineans | 1635 | 40 | 1675 |
| | 0 | | 2 |
| Latins | 1635 | 42 | 1677 |
| | 1 | | 1 |
| Piceneans | 1634 | 44 | 1678 |
| | 0 | | 4 |
| Falischeans | 1634 | 48 | 1682 |
| | 11 | | 5 |
| Ombris | 1645 | 42 | 1687 |
| | 4.2 | | 2.5 |

NOTE: The figures under the value of the means represent the difference in m.m. between a mean and the next.

study. In addition I calculated the mutual differences of mean. Observing the figures of Table 1, it is seen that the ascending trend is evident in both series, but with a differentiated rate, as the graph shows. In fact, in the series I elaborated with Livi's



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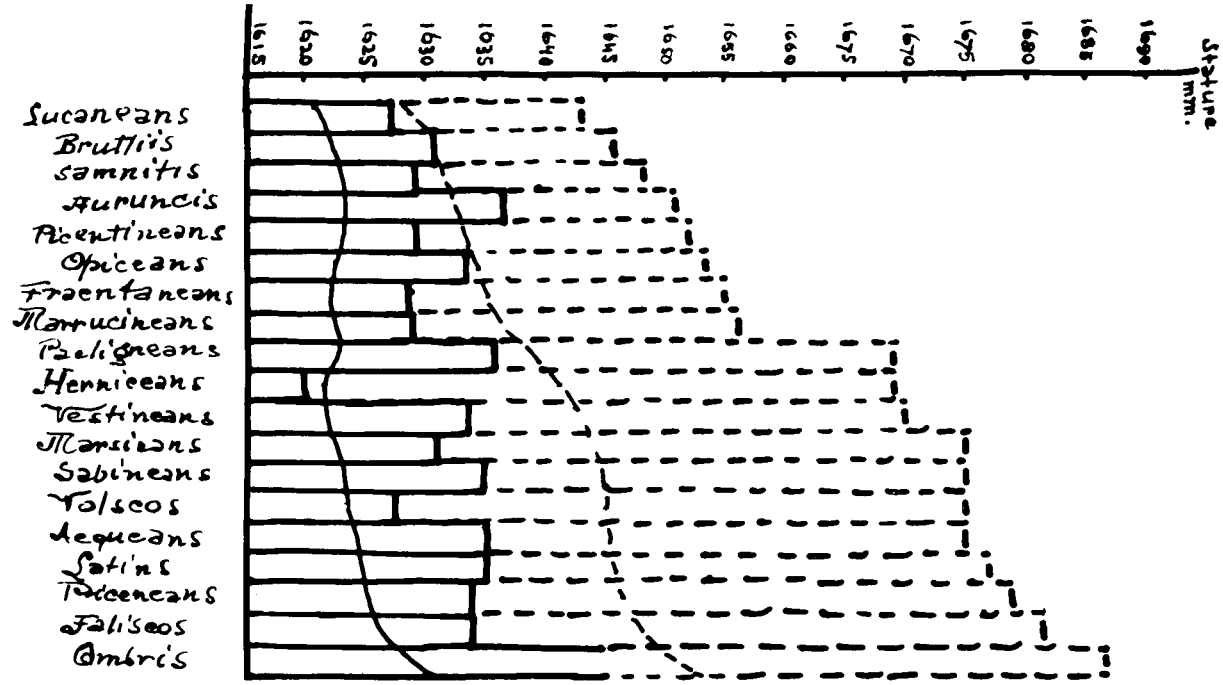


Statural means of the presumable descendants of the Italic "peoples", "nations", or *stirpi* calculated by Cappieri on the recruits of 1963 (dotted lines) and corresponding values calculated on Livi's data of recruits 1859-63 (linear lines). Trends of increase of the stature proceeding from south to north of the peninsula.

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data (1859-1863) the mean of the mutual differences of means is 4.2, while that resulting from my present study is 2.5.

These values show that the process of augmentation of the stature was rather slower a century ago than in the present one because more and more the social, economic and environmental factors reduced their force or, better, these factors tended to flatten the statural data of the various provincial populations. Because of that, the 1859-1863 series shows a range of 25 m.m. (1620-1645) against that of the present series of 44 m.m. (1643-1687), that is, nearly doubling the rise-movement. Similar data show the divergence between the series of a century ago and the present one for each "people." The range of these values with other essential data, are indicated in Table 1.

With the means of the "peoples" I formed seven groups, proceeding from south to north to show, at a glance, the differentiated increase during the century. These groups, from south to north, show the following percentages, calculated on the old values: 6.8, 9.2, 11.6, 20.2, 24.1, 28.1 and 30.1. These values and the others I gave indicated and discussed earlier corroborate my thesis about the Italics.

## ETHNIA OF THE SICILIANS

Before analysing the stature of the present Sicilians as a function of that of the ancient groups, it is convenient to illustrate some considerations about the migrations of Greeks and Phoenicians in the first millennium B.C., and the Arab invasion in the ninth century A.D. I have purposely used two different terms to indicate those intrusions in Sicily, because their effect had different weight on the Sicilian demography. Apart from that, these intrusions must be redimensioned and calculated on another level.

From the eighth century B.C. we have indications of Greek and Phoenician colonies in Sicily. At first the former, and later the latter, were simple landing posts on the coasts in places which made for easy navigation and convenient watering, where a few individuals collected to trade Greek and Phoenician-manufactured articles against the staple commodities or natural products of the natives. In the course of time, however, the Greek colonies grew in importance, forming large communities which had a considerable effect on the Sicilian society. The populations of these urban centres, formed by Sicilians and Greeks, were called "Siciliotes," while the native communities and villages were called "Sicels" (Siculis).

The intrusion of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians was different because it was not so numerous as the Greek one, and was rather limited to the western part of Sicily. The Phoenicians



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were intrepid and able sailors and very able merchants. But they were not inclined to either a sedentary way of life or pastoral or agricultural activity, neither had they a disposition to expand. Therefore, their colonies were really sea coast sites or military settlements formed by mercenaries living under rigid discipline. They might constitute the garrison of some Sicel communities in which they had a modest contact with the native population. If interbreeding happened, and presumably it did, its weight on the numerous Sicel population was modest. Another element limited this intercrossing: western Sicily was populated by the Elymian tribes of very hard and austere habit who lived in an endogamic society.

The colonising Greeks, however, met populations — Sicanis and Siculis — more disposed to a mixed society and more partial to foreign elements. In such an epoch Greeks and Siculis represented indeed two genetic varieties much related to each other, of the Mediterranean race, and therefore we cannot ascertain an eventual difference in their stature. The same problem is present in the case of the Phoenicians or Carthaginians.

Generally speaking the Arabic invasion of Sicily in the ninth century A.D. is similar. It was not a settlement of trading posts on the coast but a systematic invasion. Even readjusting the size of the invasion and excluding the exaggeration of the ancient historians, and admitting also that the Siculis were a very numerous population, the invaders represented one-tenth of the native population. Surely the Arabs were assimilated by the Siculis, more easily even than were the Greeks and Phoenicians, because they had a greater similarity in culture and customs. The invaders belonged for the most part to the genetic stock of the tribes living on the African coast from Morocco to Egypt — they were very akin to the Sicilians.

The cultural influence on the various Sicilian populations was immense because the Greeks had the capacity and drive to transform large communities of Sicels or Sicans, and to dominate them. Undoubtedly they had some qualities which explain the splendid rising of Syracuse and the long wars of the Greek-Sicels against the Carthaginians.

The original Greek colonies were Zancle (Messina), of the eighth century B.C.; Naxo, B.C. 736; Syracusai (Syracuse), B.C. 735; Gorgia (or Leontinoi), B.C. 730; Catane (Catania), B.C. 730; Megara (Hyblea), B.C. 728; Acrae, B.C. 664; Camarrana (Camarina), B.C. 598; Tauromenia (Selinunte), B.C. 628; Imera, B.C. 648; Anassagoras (Agrigento), B.C. 580; and Gela, B.C. 688.

Phoenician posts were founded about B.C. 800 in western Sicily. The most important and early Phoenician colony was Motya (Mozia on the island of Pantaleo).



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I identified in Sicily three *stirpi,* so-called by the ancient historians: the Elymeans, with a chief town at Eryx (Erice), the Sicans, and the Siculis. In Table 2 I indicate the statural data of their presumed descendants. The statural mean is 1652 ± 0.82 and S.D. 2.1; its range of frequencies and delta-field are 1650 — 1654 = 4 m.m. The three means fall within the limits of A ± 1 σ. The reciprocal differences of means are indicated in Table 3. The index of inter-*stirpi* variability is 2.7. All the differences of means tested with Student-t are "non-significant." Apparently these data show some homogeneity and a modest centrifugal tendency of the *stirpi* to deviate from the central value. But an examination of the structure of the *stirpi* and an analysis of their intra-*stirpi* index shows, however, that this uniformity is not genuine. I assume that the variation from the central value is not due to genetical but to social and environmental factors.

The coastal populations, or those which occupy reduced areas of inland territory, show a good height; the populations of the chief towns have a higher stature and consequently influence the statural mean of their province and their *stirpi.* The statural value belongs to the Sicels in the Syracusan population.

I compiled a unique series with all the provincial means and obtained a statural mean of 1651 ± 2.08 and S.D. 10.4; its range

TABLE 2

*Stature in m.m. and other constants of Sicilians*

| *"Peoples"* | *Provincial populations* | *Stature in m.m. Provin.* | *"Peoples"* | ± | *S.D.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elymeans | Trapanesis | 1654 | 1654 | — | — |
| Sicans | Palermitansis | 1661 | | | |
| | Agrigentinis | 1644 | 1653 | 5.76 | 12.0 |
| Siculis | Ennesis | 1634 | | | |
| | Nissenis | 1636 | | | |
| | Agrigentinis | 1644 | | | |
| | Ragussinis | 1648 | | | |
| | Aretuseis (Siracusanis) | 1652 | | | |
| | Catanesis | 1657 | | | |
| | Palermitanis | 1661 | | | |
| | Messinesis | 1665 | 1650 | 2.71 | 11.3 |

TABLE 3

*Reciprocal differences of statural means in m.m. of Sicilians*

| *"Peoples"* | Elymeans | Sicans | Siculis |
|---|---|---|---|
| Elymeans | — | 1 | 4 |
| Sicans | — | — | 3 |
| Siculis | — | — | — |



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of frequencies is 1634 — 1665 = 31 m.m. Its delta-field is 1645 — 1657 = 12 m.m. Eight of the 11 values fall within the limits of A $\pm 1\sigma$, and three into A $\pm 2\sigma$. The inter-provincial index is 12.3. This last figure indicates a rather strong centrifugal tendency from the central mean (1651), showing the following deviations: 1 m.m. of the Aretuseis (Siracusanis), 3 m.m. of the Ragusanis and Trapanesis, 6 m.m. of the Catanesis, 7 m.m. of the Agrigentinis and the Reggini, 10 m.m. of the Palermitanis, 14 m.m. of the Messinesis, 15 m.m. of the Nissenis, and 17 m.m. of the Ennesis.

All these values, at least those from 6 m.m. upwards, show the great divergence existing in the stature of the Sicilians. However, the deviations do not reflect a genetic basis but are due to social and environmental factors. In fact, the population inhabiting the central mountainous territories, generally isolated, had a poor standard of life and shows the lower stature — such as the Ennesis with 1634, and the Nissenis with 1636, with a mean of 1635, or those which have more inland than coastal territories, such as the Agrigentinis with 1644, and the Ragusanis with 1648, with a mean of 1646, all together with a mean of 1641.

As far as stature is concerned Sicily presents a typical example of the convergent effects of the influences which are not genetical. The greater stature of the Palermitanis, Messinesis, Catanesis, Aretuseis (Siracusanis), all coastal populations, is derived from the fact that they are also "chief towns." In contrast there are the low statures of the mountainous or inland — even partially — populations, such as the Agrigentinis, Ennesis, Nissenis, and Ragusanis. The two groups are markedly differentiated: the former show a mean of 1658 $\pm$ 0.81 and S.D. of 4.9; the latter a mean of 1641 $\pm$ 1.77 and S.D. 5.9. I assume therefore that the latter represents the "original" Sicilian community. In fact there was a rapid increase in the stature among coastal populations. During the century, from the examination of recruits born from 1859-1863, the increase in high stature of the Sicilian population was 12.2 per cent, while the increase of the "low" stature was only 8.6 per cent; in this group the lowest stature showed a minor increase: Ennesis and Nissenis 0.7 per cent and Ragusanis 0.9 per cent against the mean — 1651 — of the other populations more or less "coastal" or with minor inland territory.

Also for this Sicilian ethnia I tried to evaluate the weight, on their stature, of the social and environmental factors. I assume tentatively that the "original" population represents 44.4 per cent of the total with a mean stature of 1641 $\pm$ 2.18 and S.D. 6.6, that the "affected" population represents 55.6 per cent of the total with a mean stature of 1658 $\pm$ 1.59 and S.D. of 5.3. My



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assumption excludes any heterogenous population or, at least, I am unable to determine in the present demography, the weight of it. The difference between the two groups I have cited above is 17 m.m. which represents 1 per cent of the " original " statural mean.

Regardless of the *stirpi* I calculated the statural mean of the Sicilians within the limits of the administrative region and obtained a mean of 1650 ± 2.38 and S.D. 10.8.

## SARDINIAN ETHNIA

The inhabitants of Sardinia in the first millennium B.C. formed a variety of the Mediterranean race and, because of their extraordinary isolation, both geographical and social, kept an unaltered genotype with a peculiar somatic uniformity. The Sardinians were, and still are, a hardy, haughty and clannish people. On account of its isolation and the strong attachment of the people to the past, especially in the mountainous districts, Sardinia has preserved its local customs. The Sardinian characteristics, concerning both ecology and population, are unique. The density of the inhabitants is the lowest in Italy, and their distribution is very peculiar. The most inhabited regions are not the coastal, as in Sicily and in the Tyrrhenian coastal territory, but the high hills and middle mountains inland. This is due to the need to find good pastures for their animals (particularly sheep) and to escape from incursions and pirates coming from the sea.

The Etruscans, and afterwards the Phoenicians, or the Carthaginians, could set up in Sardinia only some landing places as commercial posts, to deal with the native tribes for the mutual barter of goods or, as regards the Phoenicians, to exploit the rich metalliferous mines of the islands, and to export their products.

The first Phoenician colony was Nora, in the eighth century B.C. Other landing places were Carales or Calaris (Cagliari), Sulcis, Tharrus or Turris, Turris Ligissonis (now Porto Torres), the last two of which became *poleis*, Cornus (between Bosa and Oristano, near Santa Caterina), Olbia (Terranova Pausania), Aenosis or Plumbes (the island of St Antioco), and Sulcis.

As I have mentioned, the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians were not a sedentary population, inclined to pastoral or agricultural activity. Therefore their colonies were not prone to occupy territories and spread out in a new land. Sardinia was never submitted to the so-called invasions — it was more a land to exploit for its rich layer beds of copper, lead and tin. The Punic element made up principally the large garrisons of their colonies and were subjected to strict discipline (as mercenaries)



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and had scarce contact with the natives. Obviously there was some interbreeding, but surely rather modest, knowing the austerity of the native tribes, their strict endogamic society and their intolerance of mingling with foreigners. On the contrary a large inflow of Pisans, Lucchesis and Genoans in the Sassarese territory in the Middle Ages had a marked demographic influence on the scarce population of northern Sardinia. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. the Sardinian population was surely not more than 150,000 and therefore the 50,000 of the Sassarese area were influenced by the Genoans and Tuscanians who came from Sardinia.

The better-known Sardinian tribes in the middle of the first millennium B.C. were the Sulcitan, Siculensis, Scapitan, Celsitan, Corsican (with the sub-tribes of Cunusitan, Coracen, Caren) and Barbaricean (with the sub-tribes of Aequilen, Corpicen, Rubrens, and Aesaronean). In Table 4 I give the statural values of the presumable descendants of their tribes and some other constants.

The mean stature of the six tribes is 1636 $\pm$ 2.60 and S.D. 9.3; its range of frequencies is 1628 — 1653 = 25 m.m.; its delta field is 1628 — 1644 = 16 m.m. All the values fall within the limits of A $\pm$ 1 $\sigma$. In Table 5 I indicate the reciprocal differences

TABLE 4

*Statural means in m.m. of the males by tribes and provincial populations of Sardinians*

| *Tribes* | *Provincial populations* | *Stature in m.m. Provin.* | *Tribal* | $\pm$ | *S.D.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sulcitan | Cagliaritanis | 1632 | 1632 | — | — |
| Scapitan | Cagliaritanis | 1632 | 1632 | — | — |
| Celsitan | Cagliaritanis | 1632 | 1632 | — | — |
| Corsican | Sassaresis | 1653 | 1653 | — | — |
| Siculen | Cagliaritanis | 1632 | | | |
| | Nuoresis | 1628 | 1630 | 1.34 | 2.8 |
| Barbaricean | Nuoresis | 1628 | | | |
| | Cagliaritanis | 1632 | | | |
| | Sassaresis | 1653 | 1638 | 5.27 | 13.5 |

TABLE 5

*Reciprocal differences in m.m. of male statural means of Sardinian tribes*

| *Tribes* | *Sulcitan* | *Scapitan* | *Celsitan* | *Corsican* | *Siculen* | *Barbaricean* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sulcitan | — | 0 | 0 | 21 | 2 | 6 |
| Scapitan | — | — | 0 | 21 | 2 | 6 |
| Celsitan | — | — | — | 21 | 2 | 6 |
| Corsican | — | — | — | — | 23 | 15 |
| Siculen | — | — | — | — | — | 8 |
| Barbaricean | — | — | — | — | — | — |



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of the statural means of the tribes. These differences, tested with the Student-t, are "non-significant." The inter-tribal index of variability is 8.7.

These biomertical results do not show a particularly good homogeneity at, at least, the level of the homogeneity we should expect, knowing the genetic unity of the Sardinians and their isolation. Environmental factors influence the relatively high stature of (1) the "chief town" populations, and (2) the coastal populations. The more the population is isolated the more the stature of the inhabitants of their "chief town" is higher, because of their demographical endogamy.

As far as the stature of the Sassaresis's stature is concerned, the enquiry made by Livi (*Antropometrica militare*) shows that a century ago their stature was also higher than that of the other provincial populations. They had a stature of 1624, the Cagliaritanis 1616, the Nuoresis 1606. During the century up to today, the three populations increased respectively by 1.8 per cent, 1.0 per cent and 1.3 per cent. This shows also that the social and environmental factors were the same as they are now, because the respective differences are 29 m.m., 16 m.m., and 22 m.m.

The deviations, shown by the tribal means, indicate a very strong centrifugal tendency which is also revealed by the inter-tribal index of variability of 8.7.

I collected in a unique series the nine values of the stature of the provincial populations obtaining a mean of 1636 $\pm$ 2.18 and S.D. of 9.9. Its range of frequencies is 1628 — 1653 = 25 m.m.; its delta value is 13 m.m., *viz.*, 1630 $\pm$ 1643. The inter-provincial index is 9.7. Seven of the nine values fall within the limits of A $\pm$ 1 $\sigma$, the other two within A $\pm$ 2 $\sigma$.

The provincial population of Nuoro maintains more than the others the genetic and phenotypic characteristics of the Sardinians; they show also the minor cephalic index. In fact their stature — 1628 — and their index — 76.8 — are concomitant in this analysis. The Cagliaritanis show a cephalic index of 76.8 and the Sassaresis 78.3, while this index for the continentals is very much higher — Lazialis 81.0 and Piedmontesis 85.9.

It is very difficult to explain the divergence of statural means between the Sardinians inhabiting the northern, the middle and the southern regions, knowing their genetical unity *ab antiquo*, their phenotypical homogeneity and their millennial isolation. Two theses could be advanced: (1) that the divergence between central (1628) and southern (1632) regions is due only to social and environmental factors; (2) that the divergence between the central value plus southern areas (mean 1630) and the northern area (1653) is due to genetical influence from the continent; and (3) that the three statural means represent the logical trend of



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evolution in a very closed and isolated population under the influence of imbalanced social and environmental factors.

Considering the first thesis there is the fact that the scarce population of the period from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries A.D. of northern Sardinia has been deeply influenced by the afflux of Genoans (stature 1713), Pisanis (1706), Lucchesi (1713). It could be also that, in prehistoric times, some Corsican descendants interbred with the inhabitants of northern Sardinia. The Corsicans show a higher stature than the Sardinians and it is symptomatic that the tribe inhabiting the region was called "Corsi."

The third thesis agrees very logically with what we know about the genetical unity of the Sardinians. The "original" population is represented by the inhabitants of the middle region having a statural mean of 1628, the "affected" population to the south with a mean of 1632, and the inhabitants of northern Sardinia with a mean of 1653. Then the three parts are each represented by the figure of 33.3 per cent, the central Nuorese being the "original," the "affected" being the Cagliaritane, and the Sassarese with a mean of 1653. The mutual differences of mean are 25 m.m. between the central and northerns, 21 m.m. between southern and northern, or values respectively of 0.2 per cent of the "original" stature, 1.5 per cent and 1.3 per cent. Lastly, I have calculated the present population within the administrative boundaries of the Sardinian region and I obtained a mean of 1638 $\pm$ 5.27 and S.D. 13.5.

## DISCUSSION ON THE DATA AND ON THE RESULT

The ethnical groups I have detected in the Italian population are: 1, Celtic; 2, Venetian; 3, Etruscan; 4, Japygean; 5, Italic, 6, Sicilian; and 7, Sardinian. They offer, for the stature, various degrees of genetic homogeneity deduced from the values shown by the presumed descendants of the ancient population. In order to analyse this aspect I compared the value of the S.D.s obtained from the statural values of the provincial series. These values reveal the actual phenomenon more exactly than using the tribal or "peoples" values because the former are more numerous; this fact is essential for a better assumption of the variability of the series.

The most compact ethnical group is that of the Japygeans, which shows an "intra"-index (or S.D.) of 3.4, a modest value of variability indeed. It represents an oscillation of the various items of only 3.4 m.m., *viz.*, 1.7 m.m. under and 1.7 m.m. over the mean (1659); the theoretical mean conforms to these values, the delta-field being 1657 - 1661, a very limited field. The index of



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inter-provincial index of variability is 3.5. It represents the mutual centrifugal tendency of the various provincial populations within the limits of its ethnical group. In fact, against the mean of the group, 1659, the deviations of the provincial populations are negligible — 1 m.m. for the Brindisinis, 2 m.m. for the Leccesis, 3 m.m. for the Barresis, 4 m.m. for the Tarentineans, and 5 m.m. for the Foggianis.

What significance do all these values have? They show a singular and exceptional statural unity, which I ascribe to a genetical basis. Such a cohesion, existing during so many centuries, is indeed remarkable, considering that at present the Apulean population is nearly four millions spread over a territory of about 19,500 square kilometres. Such a homogeneity appeared also a century ago; consulting Livi's *Antropmetria militare* the statural mean was 1635 with a S.D. of 2.1, figures which are better than those of the present Apuleans.

Is it possible to determine the nature of this good level? I ascribe it to a racial unity which equates a genetic (or racial) element. The ancient historians were right in assuming that the Japygeans were a race (in their meaning of " race ") without any relation to the Italic. They formed a compact population, rather isolated; this isolation was both genetic and geographic, a good half of the Japygean territory forming a peninsula. This ended westward in a very poor and mountainous region which was difficult to approach. The territories of the Lucaneans and the Samnitis extended partly over this region. Both populations had rigid customs, warlike natures (especially the Samnitis) and were averse to contacts with foreigners.

With the Japygeans the Greek influence was only cultural and had a modest demographic contribution. Without rejecting the hypothesis of interbreeding with the Greeks, its effects are not perceptible now, either because they are negligible or because the genetic factors of the Japygeans were very similar to those of the Greeks (which is my opinion). Also the cephalic index of the descendants of the Japygeans is rather uniform: 77.5 for the Leccesis, 77.9 for the Tarantineans, 79.2 for the Brindisinis, and 80.2 for the Barresis and Foggianis. Livi, in his examination of a century ago, found an index of 79.8 for the whole Apulean population.

At the second level of statural homogeneity is the Euganean population which is part of the ethnical group of the Venetis. It shows a provincial " intra "-index (S.D.) of 4.7, which is a very good value. Regardless of the other factors, the position of the Euganeans is geographically very different from that of the Japygeans. They did not live in isolated, mountainous or coastal territory, and therefore the present cohesion must be ascribed



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totally to their genetic bond. Also the provincial deviations from the central value — 1708 — shows a modest centrifugal tendency, because they are: Trevisanis 1 m.m., Paduans 2 m.m., Vicentinis and Trentinis 3 m.m., Veronesis and Venitians 4 m.m., and Bellunesis 8 m.m. This last deviation is due to the fact that the Belluno population resides in a mountainous and relatively isolated territory.

The synthetic value of these tendencies is represented by the inter-provincial index — 5.2 — which is rather modest. Also the *stirpi* means are not too distant from the central value — 1658 — being 2 m.m. for the Euganeans and 3 m.m. for the Catubrinis, Bellunis and Anaunis.

The genetic statural unity of the Euganeans is remarkable and surely reflects its phenotype. That is more conspicuous considering that the territory inhabited by the Euganeans was mostly plain and without any natural defences, such as rivers, lakes or mountain ranges, which could in some way isolate this population or form a barrier against the German and Slav barbarians who during three centuries entered this territory which from the fall of the Roman Empire to this day has formed an immense door to the Padan Valley.

The third level for the statural homogeneity is represented by the stature of the Cispadan Gauls, who show an index of variability of 5.0, an index which is reasonably expected from their relative isolation. In fact its territory stretched from the Adriatic Sea in the east to the Apeninnes in the west and the River Po in the north. Only to the south did this territory constitute a "territory of confluence" in which the Gauls were comingled with Etruscans and Ombris. The provincial populations show modest values of centrifugal tendency from the central mean — 1703. The deviations are: Ravennatis, Reggianis and Modenesis 2 m.m., Ferraresis and Piacentinis 3 m.m., Pavesis 7 m.m. and Forlivesis 8 m.m. The Parmensis show no deviation. The value of the Forlivesis is indicative of some interbreeding with the Ombris, because the Forlivesis were the tribe inhabiting the most southern region of these Gauls. The case of the Pavesis is rather similar because they lived in the extreme north-western area of the territory. The "inter"-index — 5.7 — is reasonably good and similar to those of the deviations of the tribes from their central mean. These deviations are 1 m.m. for the Senones, 2 m.m. for the Lingones and Friniates, 5 m.m. for the Anamores, and none for the Boiis.

I have already stated that in all the ethnical groups I considered. I have calculated three aspects of the statural value. One is that resulting from the series of the provincial frequencies. The second is the result of my attempt to discriminate, even



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## TABLE 6

*Summary data**

| *Ethnias* | I[1] | II[2] | III[3] | IV[4] | V[5] | VI[6] | VII[7] | VIII[8] | IX[9] | X[10] | XI[11] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Gallic | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Transpadan | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gauls | 1697 | 19 | 69.2 | 87.3 | 1697 | 25 | 72.6 | 42.5 | 1693 | 0.7 | 3.7 |
| | 1.1 | 6 | 30.8 | | 0.8 | 4 | 24.4 | 36.3 | 1703 | 0.5 | 2.8 |
| | 5.6 | — | | | 6.6 | | 3.0 | 21.2 | 1698 | 2.4 | 9.6 |
| | 7.1 | | | | 7.8 | | | | | | |
| Cispadan | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gauls | 1703 | 7 | 80.0 | 100.0 | 1703 | 16 | 66.7 | 41.2 | 1701 | 0.6 | 2.4 |
| | 1.8 | 10 | 20.0 | | 0.9 | 6 | 33.3 | 41.2 | 1708 | 0.7 | 2.8 |
| | 2.9 | | — | | 5.0 | | — | 17.6 | 1704 | 3.2 | 8.1 |
| | 3.2 | | | | 5.7 | | | | | | |
| 2. Ligures | 1708 | 9 | 75.0 | 100.0 | 1708 | 18 | 75.0 | 15.8 | 1708 | 1.8 | 4.7 |
| | 0.8 | 6 | 25.0 | | 0.9 | 6 | 25.0 | 21.1 | 1713 | 0.3 | 1.0 |
| | 3.5 | — | | | 5.4 | | — | 63.1 | 1708 | 0.8 | 2.8 |
| | 4.1 | | | | 6.2 | | | | | | |
| 3. Venetis | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Euganeans | 1708 | 6 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1708 | 12 | 81.8 | 54.5 | 1705 | 0.3 | 1.0 |
| | 1.1 | 6 | | | 0.9 | 6 | 18.2 | 27.3 | 1711 | 0.6 | 1.6 |
| | 3.2 | | | | 4.7 | | — | 18.2 | 1711 | 3.7 | 7.8 |
| | 3.8 | | | | 5.2 | | | | | | |
| Illyrians | 1731 | 5 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1729 | 24 | 60.0 | — | — | — | — |
| | 1.7 | 10 | | | 2.6 | 16 | 40.0 | 20.0 | 1733 | — | — |
| | 3.6 | | | | 8.8 | | — | 80.0 | 1728 | 3.3 | 9.8 |
| | 2.5 | | | | 10.8 | | | | | | |
| 4. Etruscans | 1693 | 28 | 55.5 | — | 1710 | 19 | 71.4 | 35.7 | 1714 | 1.5 | 5.1 |
| | 2.4 | 14 | 44.5 | — | 2.2 | 12 | 26.6 | 14.3 | 1718 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| | 10.8 | | — | | 8.6 | | — | 50.0 | 1684 | 1.3 | 4.7 |
| | — | | | | 10.1 | | | | | | |
| 5. Japygeans | 1658 | 6 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1659 | 9 | 58.3 | — | — | — | — |
| | 1.5 | 9 | | | 0.7 | 4 | 41.7 | — | — | — | — |
| | 5.0 | | | | 3.4 | | | | | | |
| | 2.8 | | | | 3.5 | | | | | | |
| 6. Italics | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ombreans | 1676 | 18 | 63.6 | 88.6 | 1677 | 39 | 74.2 | 35.5 | 1665 | 0.9 | 4.6 |
| | 1.1 | 6 | 36.4 | — | 1.2 | 6 | 22.6 | 45.2 | 1682 | 0.5 | 3.0 |
| | 5.5 | | — | | 9.6 | | 3.2 | 19.3 | 1658 | 1.8 | 6.4 |
| | 6.1 | | | | 9.0 | | | | | | |
| Samnitis | 1653 | 8 | 83.3 | 94.0 | 1651 | 24 | 87.5 | 43.8 | 1651 | 0.3 | 1.1 |
| | 0.8 | 6 | 16.7 | — | 1.1 | 6 | 12.5 | 37.5 | 1655 | 0.3 | 1.2 |
| | 3.0 | | — | | 6.7 | | — | 18.7 | 1641 | 4.5 | 11.5 |
| | 3.5 | | | | 5.4 | | | | | | |
| Sabelleans | 1645 | 3 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1644 | 20 | — | 28.7 | — | — | — |
| | 0.7 | 4 | | | 1.9 | 12 | — | 42.6 | — | — | — |
| | 1.4 | | | | 7.5 | | — | 28.7 | — | — | — |
| | — | | | | 9.3 | | | | | | |
| 7. Sicilians | 1652 | 4 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1651 | 31 | 72.7 | 44.4 | 1641 | 2.2 | 6.6 |
| | 0.8 | 4 | | | 2.1 | 12 | 27.3 | 55.6 | 1658 | 1.6 | 5.3 |
| | 2.1 | | | | 10.4 | | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 2.7 | | | | 12.3 | | | | | | |
| 8. Sardinians | 1636 | 25 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1636 | 25 | 77.8 | 33.3 | 1628 | — | — |
| | 2.6 | 16 | | | 2.2 | 13 | 22.2 | 33.3 | 1632 | — | — |
| | 9.3 | | | | 9.9 | | — | 33.4 | 1653 | — | — |
| | 8.7 | | | | 9.7 | | | | | | |



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tentatively, the genetical (or racial) elements from what could be ascribed to social, environmental and economic factors. The third is the result of another trial: that is to separate the stature which could be considered acquired *ab antiquo* from that which presumably is due to interbreeding. I have called *ad brevitatem* these three groups of each ethnia as (1) "affected" population (affected by ungenetic ethnical stratum), (2) "original" population (the primary ethnical stratum), and (3) "intercrossed" population (inhabiting the "territories of confluence"). The case of the Etruscans is typical. Their eastern and southern territory formed an "area of confluence" where the original stock is strongly mixed with the Ombris, the Sabinis and the Latins. There is another area where the Etruscans show a real statural unity with high homogeneity; this is represented by the Leghorneans, Pistoiesis, Florentinis, Lucchesis, and Pisanis, with a mean of 1714 $\pm$ 1.53 and S.D. of 5.1, while the whole complex of the Etruscans has a statural mean of 1701 $\pm$ 2.6 and S.D. of 13.0. This includes, of course, the influence of the social and environmental factors. The third investigation gives me the value of the mixed populations of Etruscans, Ombris Latins, and Sabins, with a mean of 1684 $\pm$ 1.31 and S.D. of 4.7.

In Table 6 I indicate the most essential data and constants I have calculated and expounded in the present study. Many figures in this table confirm the assumption I have advanced as regards the statural homogeneity of the Japygeans, the Euganeans, and the Cispadan Gauls. The value of the frequencies-range for these three ethnias is rather modest, respectively 9 m.m., 12 m.m., and

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* I-IV are data calculated on the basis of tribes or "peoples" or "nations" or *stirpi*. V to XI are data calculated on provincial basis.

[1] Statural mean in m.m. and values of P.E. (or $\pm$), S.D. (index of variability or sigma or $\sigma$), and index of inter-group variability.

[2] Value in m.m. of the range of frequencies and of the delta-field (or oscillation field of the theoretical mean).

[3] Percentages of statural means falling into the limits of A $\pm$ 1$\sigma$, into $\pm$ 2$\sigma$ (second line), and into A $\pm$ 3 $\sigma$ (third line).

[4] Percentage of non-significant differences of means.

[5] Provincial statural mean in m.m. and values of P.E., S.D., of the series and index of inter-provincial variability.

[6] Value in m.m. of the field of the range of frequencies and of the delta-field.

[7] Percentages of the means falling into the limits of A $\pm$ 1$\sigma$, A $\pm$ 2$\sigma$, and A $\pm$ 3$\sigma$.

[8] Percentages, on the whole population of the ethnia, of the groups considered respectively "original" (first line), "affected" (second line), and "intercrossed" or "interbred" (third line).

[9] Respective statural means.

[10] Values of P.E.s of respective series.

[11] Values of S.D.s of respective series.



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16 m.m., and they show therefore a good sign of their statural homogeneity.

These range values (in decreasing order) are: Italic Ombreans 39 m.m.; Sicilians 31 m.m.; Transpadan Gauls and Sardinians 25 m.m.; Italic Samnites and Illyrians 24 m.m.; Italic Sabelleans 20 m.m.; Etruscans 19 m.m.; Ligures 18 m.m.; Cispadan Gauls 16 m.m.; Euganeans 12 m.m.; and Japygeans 9 m.m. Another good sign is the value of the delta or oscillation field of the theoretical mean, which is, in decreasing order: Illyrians 16 m.m.; Sardinians 13 m.m.; Etruscans, Italic Sabelleans and Sicilians 12 m.m.; Cispadan Gauls, Ligures, Euganeans, Italic Ombreans and Italic Samnites 6 m.m.; and Transpadan Gauls and Japygeans 4 m.m.

I have already explained what I mean by " affected " ethnias: those influenced by social, economic and environmental factors. I have given weight to the phenomenon, calculating tentatively for each ethnia the percentages of the total of these factors against the total populations of the ethnias. The values I obtained are, in decreasing order: Sicilians 55.6 per cent; Italic Ombreans 45.2 per cent; Italic Sabelleans 42.6 per cent; Cispadan Gauls 41.2 per cent; Italic Samnites 37.5 per cent; Transpadan Gauls 36.3 per cent; Sardinians 33.3 per cent; Euganeans 27.3 per cent; Ligures 21.1 per cent; Illyrians 20.0 per cent; and Etruscans 14.3 per cent. These values, expounded and considered with some cautions, show that the central and southern populations of the peninsula, as well as those of the two large islands, are more " affected " by those factors than the northern populations. In fact the former have a mean of 42.8 per cent and the latter 26.7 per cent. This is a logical trend of the phenomenon, well known to all students of the social, economic and environmental conditions of southern Italy, which could be summarized as the " questione meridonale."

Tentatively I have also calculated for each ethnia the percentage on its total population of the " intercrossed " or " interbred " elements. These values, in decreasing order, are: Illyrians 80 per cent; Ligures 63.1 per cent; Etruscans 50 per cent; Italic Sabelleans 28.7 per cent; Transpadan Gauls 21.2 per cent; Italic Ombreans 19.3 per cent; Italic Samnites 18.7 per cent; Euganeans 18.2 per cent; and Cispadan Gauls 17.6 per cent. Logically this trend has no relation with the other mentioned above. It shows the weight of the eventual interbreeding of some ethnias with others genetically diverse. But some of these figures must be explained. The problem of the Italics is rather complex because, except for the Italic Ombreans, they have no interbreeding process. They answer only to the social, economic and environmental factors which have influenced the Italic " peoples "



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or *stirpi* or "nations" in various degrees, proceeding from the extreme south to northwards of the peninsula.

Therefore the percentage of the part of the population called improperly "intercrossed" represents only the effect of the amalgamation of different levels of such influences, which occurred among the two Italic groups — central and southern — and, partially, in the first one, the northern. Of course these percentages are not duplicates of the "affected" ethnias' percentages; in fact they represent, for the three Italic groups, the level of the mingling in function of the social, economic and environmental factors.

As a summary of my judgment, I assume that the ethnias with an actual degree of interbreeding are:

(1) The Illyrians, who show 80.0 per cent of an un-Venetis genetical basis, represented by Longobardians, Germans, Scandinavians, and Slavs.

(2) The Ligures, with 63.1 per cent of the total of their ethnia represented by a crossing process with Gauls and Etruscans.

(3) The Etruscans, with 50 per cent of an extraneous genetic basis due presumably to interbreeding with Gauls, Ligures, and Italic Ombreans, Sabineans, Latins, Falischeans.

(4) The Transpadan Gauls, who show 21.2 per cent of extraneous genetical elements, due to a presumable interbreeding with Helvetiis, Rhaetis, and Euganeans.

(5) The Euganeans, with 18.2 per cent for a presumable interbreeding with Gauls, Rhaetis, and Illyrians.

(6) The Cispadan Gauls, with 17.6 per cent due to a presumable interbreeding with Ligures, Etruscans, and Italic Ombreans.

Lastly I calculated the amount of the Italian population within the present frontiers distinctly by ethnias. Such a calculation is very hazardous, remembering that I could take into consideration only the statural data of recruits, all males, and not at the maximum height. But at this point I note the old Latin phrase, *Non omnia possumus omnes*. The values I obtained, in present terms, are indicated, in decreasing order, in the following table:

| *Ethnias* | *%* | *Ethnias* | *%* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gallic | 30 | Etruscan | 6 |
| Italic | 29 | Ligure | 4 |
| Euganean | 9 | Sardinian | 3 |
| Sicilian | 9 | Illyrian | 2 |
| Japygean | 7 | | |

Even with extreme caution I assume that:

(a) Less than a third of the Italian population is fundamentally Gallic;



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(b) that another portion of less than a third is Italic;
(c) that the remaining third (a little more) is composed with four diverse ethnias.

Assuming that:

(1) the Italic variety of the Mediterranean race includes the Italics of Central and Southern Italy, the Sicilians and the Sardinians, the amount of this variety represents 41 per cent of the whole Italian population;

(2) the Celtic variety includes the Gauls and the Ligures, the amount of the variety represents 34 per cent on the total;

(3) the other four ethnias (Euganean, Illyrian, Japygean, and Etruscan) represent a quarter of the Italian population.

(*Concluded*)


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# It is Natural to Obey

By G. M. MES

To what an extent our irrepressible idealism has made us stray from realistic thinking is shown by the fact that, in our equalitarian age, the possibility that obedience (even blind obedience) is not necessarily humiliating hardly seems to be worth intelligent consideration.

To think that it could even be honourable, and that the wish to obey is a basic human trait, sounds like the brainstorm of some kind of a revisionist crank.

Yet, as it can hardly be denied that man must, in origin at least, be a herd animal and as all herd animals must by *the very nature of their being* obey the laws of their herds, it would be extremely strange if that essential characteristic had, somehow, been left out of the constitution of the human herd animal.

Modern ideas on this subject are, therefore, likely to be faulty, to say the best of it.

When one finds such a patent illogicality in the thinking of intelligent people, the cause is almost without exception, a word with a double meaning and, in this case, the culprit has to be the word " obey " itself.

We say that falling things (and the planets) " obey " the laws of gravity and when we do what someone in authority tells us to do we also say that we " obey " him; even if both the nature and the mechanism of *this* " obeying " is entirely different.

It is understandable that, when human thinking emerged out of its (necessarily) animistic origins, the profound and essential difference between " happening in a certain pattern " and " doing what one is told to do " was overlooked and certainly never sufficiently realised to cause the coining of a separate " word-name " for each.

If (as we think we do) we had really thought by manipulating concepts and meanings, this double meaning would have caused little difficulty, but we think with words and that has led to a general confusion, both in philosophy and in science.

It took the latter up to quite recent times to come to realise that the " laws " it thought it was discovering in nature, were a left-over from the sort of primitive thinking that, for instance, knew that if a branch fell off a tree and killed a man, " Someone " or " Something " must have made it fall at that particular moment.

If things *had* to happen in certain ways, " Something " or " Someone " *had* to be ordaining them.



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It was not realised that what they found were not " laws " that were " obeyed " in nature but descriptions (or definitions) of certain patterns in *how* things happened. That things and forces " obey " laws is no more than an anamistic metaphor to express the fact that events usually happen in certain ways—and that they are, therefore, predictable in so far as one can come to know and recognise the patterns in which they do so.

On the other hand, in the philosophy relevant to our present subject, the duality of the meaning of the word " obey " has blinded us to the supremely important fact that the " obeying " of the herd animal (and, therefore, of man) has two essentially different aspects.

In nature the " obeying " of the herd animal is essentially the same as that of the falling body which " obeys the laws of nature." It obeys, so to say, " by reflex " — because it *is* like that and because it *cannot* react differently. One could even say that the primary origin of herd formation is that its members, by nature, react in herd animal ways. Herd-living is a life pattern which is the summation of the " herd animal reactions " of its members.

When, for instance, an alarm signal from the leader or the look-out makes the herd close its ranks, its members do not " obey an order." They close ranks because that is how they, by nature, react to that signal. If an individual does not automatically react in that way, it does not " disobey " the " law of the herd." It *is not* fully *a part* of its herd (not fully integrated into it) and, as a result, it will probably be liquidated sooner or later.

All this is still relatively obvious but, when the herd structure becomes more complicated and when it takes over more and more of the functions of its members, there has to arrive a time when certain *individuals* acquire the task, the " duty " and the " authority " to " give orders."

The decisions on what has to be done or avoided by the herd have to be *centralised in one awareness*, in one (animal) mind and, with that, the second meaning of the word " obey " comes into the picture. The herd animal however, still obeys the individual who represents or impersonates " the herd " in the same way that he reacts to more simple " signals."

In the beginning there must have been very little difference between " obeying an order " and " reacting to a signal." The original, general reaction pattern in all individuals had merely become centralised *and specialised* in one individual (or a small group of individuals) and the " obeying " was, therefore, actually a " reacting at second hand."

There could not be anything humiliating in this obeying as long as the " order " came from the leader as leader and not from the leader as an individual in the herd. It was no more than a



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method of surviving. The herd, the members of which obeyed immediately and effectively, would have the best chance of remaining intact—a better chance than the herd in which, in a crisis, the members began to react individually—in the same way that a well drilled army will always be superior to a horde of (individually, possibly braver and better) fighting men.

It was a rather simplistic and somewhat anthropomorphic idea of our earlier thinkers that herd authority depended on outfighting the others. That probably was only true to a certain extent in those cases where active defence of the herd happened to be an important factor in the survival of the group.

As the work of Lorentz, and the ecologists in general, has shown, leadership is usually not determined by fighting prowess but by a mixture of alertness, ability, "nerve," and a certain kind of self-sufficiency—together with the willingness or instinct, personally to take responsibility and to face danger.

One can imagine that it was because the others feel these qualities in the "leader" that they are willing to stop bothering about the outside world and to give him implicit obedience.

When this had been going on for generation after generation, the characteristics of the "average" animal would inevitably have become such that it was not only willing to obey *but that it would actually need someone to obey*. Without its "leader" the individual would have been lost, no longer able to decide and to react correctly to the outer world.

One should here note the important fact that, even at that time, nature or reality had already laid down the essential qualities for both the "average citizen" and for those who rule (those who are born, or fit, to rule)—however much, since then, the outlines may have become blurred.

At the same time, in regard to the distribution of the "goods" (food and prerogatives) most herds established, within themselves, a sort of "pecking order" which still further simplified the structure of living together by short-circuiting the need to determine in *every case* who got what and who preceded whom. By it, the place of every individual in the herd was predetermined and, as we know, once determined, that place was accepted as correct. (It is, in effect, an expression of the balancing point between the animal's ambition and its ability to assert itself.)

That place in the herd expresses for the individual, "how the world is" *for it* and it would occur as little to the individual to question the "justice" of that place as it would occur to it to question the "justice" of others being able to run faster (or to react more effectively and correctly) than it can do itself.

The perjorative meaning of "obeying" and its present-day humiliating quality could only come to the surface when men



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became aware of themselves as *individuals*, but that was still a very long way off when the human herds began to form.

In many of the more primitive tribes still functioning today, the individual is primarily (and even exclusively) a " member " of the herd and only in a very minor and secondary sense a person or a " somebody." Most of what he does or leaves undone is done or left undone *as a member of his tribe* within a complicated network of taboos and totemic implications that may go so far as to rule his life completely, down into its most minor and intimate details. The work of Levi-Strauss has at least established that; even if there may be some heated argument about his explanations of the phenomenon.

The predetermined locating of each individual in the tribe (and the pattern of his consequent obeying) could, however, only remain valid as long as people actually lived " reflex," directly reactive, lives.

It was inevitable that, as their understanding of things began to include an insight into the structure and functioning of the tribe-as-a-whole and therefore, of what *actually* " held one's nose to the grindstone," *blind obedience* and the unquestioning limitation of one's activities to those of the appointed niche in the herd, had to be replaced, either by *voluntary* obedience—or by insurrection and destruction of the herd itself.

One can take it that the establishment of a central mystery by initiation ceremonies, awe-inspiring masks and the fearsome sound of the bull-roarer in the night were instinctive attempts by the medicine men and leaders of the tribes to establish and maintain the " spirit of the tribe " *as a reality* in the mind of its members.

In most cases voluntary obedience will have come easily. One " obeyed " and " did one's part (duty) " because that was how one's world happened to be and there still could not have been anything humiliating in such obedience. As a matter of fact, it was still an obedience in the first meaning of the word—that in which a body obeys the laws of nature.

One did not feel subservient to the one who gave the command. Both the giving of the command and the obeying of it were a part of the established pattern of living together in the tribe.

The transition from this state to the one obtaining now—from total tribal involvement to the detribalised " loner " existence we are living in what is hardly more than a symbolically represented, all inclusive herd in which all men are equal—happened by logical steps as the one great and unavoidable flaw in " delegated authority " was exploited in a bewildering variety of ways.

That the basic herd structure of our society has survived at all is, in itself, proof of the fundamental need which, despite everything, we still have for it.



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A man who has a delegated authority, has a double personality. As a representative of the tribe, the herd or the commonwealth, he has power and authority. As a human individual, and in his own right, he has no more than any other tribal member—but it is self-evidently impossible to keep two such entities in one person apart. That, as we know, a man can have such powers and *not* use them to his own advantage, is one of the minor miracles produced by the herd animal nature of mankind — but it is a miracle that does not always work.

The average human being, in his need for something to belong to (one could almost say, for something that will give sense to his existing) will, *by nature*, give blind obedience to whoever is "superior" to him in the herd of which he feels himself to be a member. It does not matter how cruel his lot may be, as long as it gives him a place in the scheme of things and in some mysterious way, a "raison d'être," he is, if not content, at least willing to bear it.

He knows, deep down, that even a successful rebellion would place him in a social and economic chaos in which there would be an end to everything that had been familiar and self-evident to him. He might survive but only at the cost of endless readjustments and the re-valuation of almost everything.

Despite our modern clamourings about "freedom," "human rights" and "equality," that is still how it is for most of us. One must be fairly desperate to opt for a condition of life in which all the old values will be overthrown, and where one can be sure that the old shibboleths will no longer work.

In what we now think of as the "old" days (be they "good" or "bad") the average man, without his place in the scheme of things, and without a master to obey, was a piece of flotsam without value — a beggar or a robber, according to the amount of inherent aggressiveness in his constitution. But even then he tended to hive off into bands (with others in similar condition) and these bands were—as his herd animal nature demanded—again herds that obeyed a "master"—often more arbitrary and cruel than the one from whom the members of it had escaped.

It is a common mistake to suppose (because we think that that would be true of *us*) that the "oppressed masses" of labourers and menials—and even the slaves—served their masters only for fear of immediate punishment. There certainly was that too but the root lies deeper, right in the centre of the nature of man. If fear there was, it was the fear of being left *without* a master, without someone who would be able to handle the problems of the outer world.

One might know that one was being exploited and used but the instinct to "serve authority" is rooted deeper than the intellect



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(which is a—doubtful—gift that came later than herd formation among our ancestors).

It is probably nearer the truth to think that these men, being true herd animals, did not even have a sense of " being wronged." They might have grumbled, but that grumbling was, almost certainly, without personal rancour; something in the way in which we may grumble about the weather, or the inconveniences caused by petrol rationing.

As far as the " masters " were concerned, in the original tribal structures they had been, as we have said, the most alert and intelligent individuals who instinctively accepted responsibility, those who, when danger threatened, gravitated as naturally to the front as the others shrank back to within the relatively safe anonymity of the herd. As " leaders " they were, by nature, of the material envisaged by Carlyle for his " Hero as King " of whom he wrote in his now almost forgotten *Heroes and Hero Worship*: " He is called *Rex,* Regulator, *Roi;* our own name is still better: King, *Könning*, which means *Can*-ning, Able-man."

But this normal and natural selection of the " rulers " could not survive in a human herd in which things were more and more decided on the basis of intellectual understanding—a herd in which people were beginning to be able to think things out."

Leadership became mastership and mastership became the attaining and wielding of power and personal authority and that inevitably led to the amassing of wealth. The latter could be passed on from father to son together with the " nobility " and the power it had begun to imply.

On the other hand, ruthless ambition could carry a man to the top of the " pecking order " list of an intratribal competition in which most of the candidates were, by nature, content to stay in the place in the tribe which had been allotted to them.

Looking back on history, we see how the rulers of the human herds became more and more " human " as the centuries flowed by so that there is a graduated series from " God kings " (who *were* gods) through kings who represented God on earth and kings " by the grace of God " (with, somewhere in between, a rule by priesthoods), tyrants and autocrats (who depended upon the ability to instil fear) down to the generalised feudal system—and all these rulers, and ways of ruling mankind, were quite normal, natural and even logical.

The ruler (as Louis XIV expressed it in " l'Etat c'est Moi ") *was* in effect the " state " and the service the subjects gave him was not so much " the price of " as " a part of " the condition of belonging to that state.

There still was nothing derogatory or demeaning in serving and obeying in this context. One could even be proud of doing it well



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and identify onself with the status of the master one served. After all, everyone had to obey someone else, nobility as well as commoners—up to the king himself. Even he had to obey and serve a God who was, in effect, the " spirit of the fathers " of the herd.

Admittedly there was what, to us, appears to be great injustice in the distribution of wealth but that was normal (as it had to be) to those who lived under those conditions and one could even say that the servants and the underlings probably derived more unadultered pleasure and satisfaction out of the pomp and glory of their masters than the masters themselves. The latter must often have been troubled by worries about expenses and the incurred debts (that were not helped by a better insight into the real value of the display of wealth while the servants saw only the glory of which they were a part).

In the feudal system, in its strength and its weaknesses, its advantages and its disadvantages, all this was overtly expressed and consciously implemented.

And this brings us to the modern " worker " and his, so called " capitalist " boss. As the great industrial and commercial concerns began to develop at the turn of this century, they also tended to take the characteristics of " herds." There was still the same willingness to obey, pride in one's employment and identification with the firm. So why has this, like so much around us, been melting away like snow before the sun — until it has become ridiculous and even disgusting as an ideal.

On the basis of what has been discussed, this is not only quite understandable—it appears almost inevitable.

The healthy functioning of the herd depends upon the herd animal reactions of its members and, among men, these reactions, at the very least, depend upon the members being conscious of belonging to, of being members of, a herd.

As long as their obedience is to (and their working is for) a herd which they can sense as an entity of which they are a part—and whose fortunes they, therefore, share—all is well.

It is when the herd loses its reality and becomes, so to say, merely theoretical to the worker — or when the quality of the sharing begins to be questioned—that trouble arises and the herd becomes sick.

Here our Western employers have not shared the secret which has kept the " herds " of their Japanese counterparts alive until now.

In the latter the managers (rulers and leaders) and their overseers remained part of the structure of the herd *in* which they, like the workers, fulfilled essential functions. This (irrational though it may seem to the Western mind) was enough to keep the team



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spirit, and the realisation that the welfares of all depended on efficient working together, alive.

Consciously or unconsciously, by instinct or by cold calculation, all, down to the lowest worker, were "paternally" looked after, even when they got into personal difficulties. The duty of the herd did not end with the handing over of the paypacket. In a way they formed one whole family.

This has not happened in our industrial and business empires; our feudal times were already too far behind us to be carried over into the new relationships.

Instead of being living complexes of human endeavour that *use* machines, they *themselves* have become gigantic machines, in which human beings are hardly more than cogs; minor mechanisms that perform certain, unending, repetitive tasks. Moreover, their most important product is no longer what they actually manufacture or produce but the only thing of which we still can recognise the value, namely: money.

Having become "machines," these great concerns have also become something in which a living being can no longer "belong." A man can, at the most, only belong *to* them.

They have become so impersonal that one can only work in them and earn money in them while, to the workers, as money-making machines, they are so overtly rigged to the advantage of the bosses, the owners and the shareholders, that they seem to be hardly more than loaded gambling devices.

The work itself has lost its quality of "being part of the structure of the herd" and the whole thing has developed into a *private* "business deal" in which the worker, as an individual in his own right, "sells" his work for as much money as he can get for it. When he has received his paypacket, the firm is no longer interested in him and he, from his side, is no longer interested in the firm.

In this way the worker becomes a "loner" in an inimical world that always tries to get the better of him — a world in which he has to fight to survive and that is not a normal condition for what was, after all, still a "herd animal."

Logically, therefore, he began forming a new kind of herd to which, once again, he could *belong*, to which he could give his loyalty (and his obedience)—and which would run his personal "department of the exterior."

From now on, conscious of it or not, he lived and worked as a union member and the workshop, the factory and the mine belonged to the "outer world"—like the land on which he once raised his crops or the jungle in which he hunted his meat. He owes them neither loyalty nor respect. They are simply something to be exploited as part of the pattern of his own survival.



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Having failed to weld their " herds " into living units when they had the chance, one could say that the employers only got what they deserved—yet how could they have known?

They failed to harness the almost unbelievable capacity for work and loyalty (and obedience!) in the human herd animal and now it has been lost—for ever.

Living things (and herds are living things) have to " grow " to be what they are. They cannot be " moulded " into desired shapes and forms and functions.

The spate of almost hysterical emphasis on " work management," etc., has come far too late in the day and it is now acting " from weakness " instead of " from strength " as once it could have done. At the very best it may have some effect on smaller concerns that still have the potential for fostering a herd awareness among their employees.

But even that will not last very long because the great unions show all the symptoms of herd xenophobia in that they will not countenance " non-members " and " blacklegs " anywhere. The authority of the herd has to be absolute — as is no more than natural.

The only question which now remains is if the unions will learn the lesson the primitive agriculturists had to learn when their predatory methods exhausted the soil and made it unfit to produce food. It will be interesting to see what form the equivalent of " soil conservation," " stock improvement," " crop rotation " and good husbandry in general will take — that is, if there is a chance for it to be developed before it is also too late for that. Something will have to be invented to see to it that the great firms and industries do not die under the continually increasing demands for higher pay, less work and more amenities by the labour force.

The labour union herds would not be the first to have eaten themselves out of existence by overgrazing.

There is no easy solution to this problem. As has been shown, nationalisation of industries solves nothing. Being part-owners of the employing concern (via the government) does not make the latter a part of the herd to which the worker feels himself to " belong." The association has to be more personal if it is to create " involvement " and " loyalty."

From its side, experiment with " Soviets " has been going on long enough to demonstrate that they, to say the best of them, do not generate efficiency and productivity although one could claim, quite reasonably, that all this modern productivity and efficiency is not as essential as we tend to think. Mankind has survived quite well without it for a very long time and it may be able to do so again.



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We will simply have to sit back and see what happens.

But, if obeying is a basic characteristic of the human herd animal, why have we now developed such a deep-rooted almost monomaniac, resistence against it?

Paradoxical though it may seem, this too is a quite normal phenomenon, due to our having lost our sense of belonging to a herd. The communication and transport explosion has shrunk the world to such a degree that our old herds, our nations, associations, races and castes have evaporated from around us.

We are now all becoming members of one great, single all-encompassing human herd — but that herd is, like the modern industrial concerns, much too large and impersonal to instil any sort of a really deep sense of membership in us.

The " obeying " we object to is now in the second meaning of the word. We still do not object to obeying a herd (as is shown by the almost abject subjection of our communists to their " leaders "). We refuse to obey the man who gives the orders. We even refuse to do what " people " expect us to do—the *unspoken* commands of a society which we see, not as " our herd " but as a more or less amorphous crowd that lives according to a set of superannuated, narrow-minded, capitalist or racist rules. In our hearts we cry " Tyranny! " even when the " orders " come through to us in the small voice of our conscience.

This objection to obeying is, in its way, a part of the normal process of establishing a " pecking order " within the herd, without there being any (recognised) herd in which this is supposed to be happening. It is a natural characteristic of the herd animal when it has lost its context—like the meaningless twitching of the tail left by a panicked lizard.

In this way, the disappearance or evaporation of the herd (and the deep sense of " belonging " that goes with it) from around us has spawned the paradoxes of the inalienable " human rights " and " freedom " which have become the new religion of Man.

These ideas are paradoxical because both the " rights " and the " freedoms " can only have a meaning where there is a powerful entity that has the means and the will to implement them—and that can only be some form of a " herd."

A herd, again, cannot function or exist without limiting the rights and the freedoms of its members.

Outside the herds, rights and freedoms are mere words for the personal ability and hardihood to impose one's will on the environment.

Inside the herd, they are defined by the structure of the herd, by its " culture pattern," its " laws " and the measure of its inner strength. These are not " human rights " but *specific*, definable rights within the herd. They are not " freedoms," but the amount



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of personal decision-making that the herd permits to its members.

The overall logic is, therefore, simple. One cannot be inside the herd *and* out of it; both a member and a non-member at the same time. One has to choose.

If one demands the right to be a law unto oneself, one is an outlaw to the herd. The individual who does not conform (preferably by nature) becomes a maverick and if too many of the members of the herd become mavericks, the herd disintegrates, together with the law (and the law enforcement) without which the herd animal cannot exist.

When that has happened, man will at last have attained his ideal as he tries to learn to live with his "rights" and his "freedom"—in the jungle, like an animal.


# ZAMBEZIA

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# Distinguishing Not Comparing

By H. W. J. EDWARDS

In the 1972 summer edition of *Yr Haul*, the quarterly organ of the Church of England in Wales, there appeared a long article by the Rector of Llanbedrog in north-west Wales, the Rev. F. M. Jones, in which he unreservedly praised and supported the arguments made by Mr Nathaniel Weyl and myself in THE MANKIND QUARTERLY.[1] He particularly called attention to the rightness of discrimination and showed that people committed a serious mistake in supposing that, because Hitler and his fellow Nazis used evil means and evil arguments, we were not excused from facing the fact of race. He was violently attacked in the left-wing *Y Cymro* and in the *North Wales Chronicle*. Mr Jones did, however, then make a small comment by showing me an advertisement (in Welsh) for flats to be let only to Welsh speakers, and said that his critics were among those who supported that kind of discrimination — one which I find praiseworthy.

In the winter issue of *Yr Haul* Mr Jones returned to the attack with a long article entitled *Gwahaniaethu nid Cymharu*.[2] It was written from the ethical and religious point of view as might be expected from the pen of a rector of the Church of Wales who has a long record of considering matters of moral significance, especially as they affect his native land. It was not directly dealing with racial discrimination, although that was mentioned. The arguments employed, however, are relevant in their logic to any form of discrimination. Since discrimination has become an emotive word used for something automatically evil, it is of importance to define what discrimination is and to see if in ethics it warrants the current free use of it to discredit those who believe that discrimination is both a necessary and indeed moral action. The Rector of Llanbedrog also stressed the necessity to regard differences from the moral point of view and, again, came to the conclusion that we disregard them to our hurt and to the hurt of other people, especially those whose wide cultural and racial differences are involved.

Since the article which appeared in this Welsh-language journal arose directly from the discussion of a paper in THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, I am of the opinion that it will be of interest

[1] Nathaniel Weyl, "Racial Discrimination and the Conservative Outlook," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. XII, No. 3, January-March 1972; H. W. J. Edwards, "A Layman Looks at Racism," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. XII, No. 3, January-March 1972.

[2] I translate this "Distinguishing Not Comparing."



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to some of this publication's readers, indicating, as it does, some of the fields into which its views are penetrating on the one hand and the support which they receive from other fields of learning, such as the moral and religious, quite apart from the scientific which are the principal consideration of this publication.

The following is my translation of Mr Jones's article in the Welsh-language *Yr Haul* (*The Sun*):

> "My article in the last *Haul* on choosing a wife has had some critical attention in *Y Llan* and in *Y Cymro*. I tried to show that we ought not to ignore the differences between people and that it is unwise to marry someone very different in religion, culture, language and social status. Mrs Enid Morgan in *Y Llan* misquoted me, saying that I wrote of the danger of marrying someone from 'afar' or 'different.' I did not say that. Even so, there is a danger in marrying someone too far away and it is a mistake to choose a wife without considering the differences. This does not mean that the lines of difference ought never to be crossed. It is not differences that must be avoided but differences which are too great or too many. Mrs Morgan insists that the art of distinguishing involves comparing and that this means that saying one is better than another. This is not true. We often notice differences between people or between nations without suggesting that one is better than the other.
>
> "We who are parents often say that our children are different — even that they are not a bit alike. This does not mean that one is better than another. Wise parents do not compare their children nor do they ignore the differences between them. It is other people — strangers — who say that they are exactly alike, especially after seeing them for the first time. It is the stranger who compares them when he knows them a little better, saying that one is better than another.
>
> "He then compares them on the basis of comparatively unimportant differences: e.g. teachers may compare their ability to learn or to remember this or that lesson. Distinguishing and comparing are two different actions: and one does not of necessity lead to the other. I do not like the eisteddfod[3] very much or the scriptural examinations of the chapels or the custom of grading children into first, second, third *et cetera* in school according to marks in examinations. These institutions give too much attention not to differences but to trying to measure some relatively unimportant differences and then comparing them. What I enjoyed most about the Olympic Games was not to see that one man or one country was better than another but to see the achievements like that of hurdler John Aki Bua: not so much running faster than another but running so gracefully and apparently so effortlessly. It is the same with other masters of their craft and of artists.
>
> "Think of a man's attitude to his wife. It is right that he should be mindful that she is different from all other women, not because she is better but because she is his wife. He does not compare her with other women (if he be a good husband) and judge her more beautiful or wiser or more graceful than another. It is the adulterous man who does this. It is he who ignores the differences between his wife and another women and who finds that other woman more attractive.

[3] The competitions of the Welsh eisteddfod (session) held annually but also in local eisteddfodau.



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"As an example of too great a difference, I wrote that the Prince of Wales ought not to marry one of the maids who washes the dishes in Buckingham Palace. Here is another example: Ifan is a 40-year-old bachelor living in the farm where his ancestors have lived for centuries. He is a chapel-goer, reads and writes Welsh verse (according to certain fixed rules of Welsh prosody). Gypsies come to his neighbourhood and Ifan falls in love with an 18-year-old gypsy. Would it not be unwise for him to marry her? The differences are too great.[4]

"For the same reason 'falling in love' or sexual attraction is not enough to justify a marriage between negroid and caucasoid. Both should consider their children's fate in a world where there exists a strong prejudice concerning 'colour.' You may say, if you like, that such prejudice is irrational and groundless. That is no reason for ignoring it and it is no excuse for anyone to ignore the effect on his (or her) children 'unto the third and fourth generation.' No one ought to sacrifice his children on the altar of '*integration.*' Such considerations as these are an essential part of human life, one of those considerations which makes us different from animals.[5] Human marriage is different from the relationship between a black bull and a red cow. Neither have to consider the fate of their calves. Anyone who is indifferent to the fate of his children is less than fully human. Indifferent also is anyone who ignores his father's lineage, inheritance, traditions, and above all religion. Antiochus Epiphanes was a firm believer in 'integration' as we may see from the two books of the Machabees,[6] where he tried to force everyone from the peoples he had conquered to adopt his own people's customs.

"We are nowadays repeatedly told that we must have 'integration' between denominations and religions and get rid of differences. In the state schools an attempt has been made to find such a way between the differences of teachers and children belonging to different denominations with the children of Marxists and agnostics. One of the results of this 'integration' is that the 'religions' of the East now *claim* a part in our schools.

"Outside the schools the only religion available is in particular and different religious denominations — not any mixture of them all. Once again I am not now comparing religions and denominations

[4] To my knowledge certain eminent Welshmen, such as the chaired bard Saunders Lewis, many of whose plays centre around a woman, are very critical of the criterion of "falling in love."

[5] The Rev. F. M. Jones is, as an orthodox Christian, thinking of human free will in making choices. Animals, on the other hand, sedulously keep to their own kind, save in humanly contrived arrangements which produce tigrons. They obey what I may call Maker's Instructions.

[6] Antiochus in the first book of the Machabees (found among Protestants in the Apocrypha, chapter 1) demanded of the captive Jews that they should forsake the pieties of their race and "to burn incense and to depart from the law of God." He was answered by the Jew Mathathias: "Though all nations obey king Antiochus, so as to depart from the law of their fathers . . . I and my sons and brethren will obey the law of our fathers." In the second book (chapter IV) we read that Antiochus "forthwith began to bring over his (Jewish) countrymen to the fashion of the heathen." We read that this was but a beginning. "Setting naught by the honours of their (Jewish) fathers," certain Jewish priests forsook the altar of God in order to be assimilated to the practices of the heathens — "they esteemed the Grecian glories for the best."



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but only saying that they are different. Now the only way for our children and our children's children to submit to God in Christ is to submit to Him in His broken Body, the Church, that is, in some denomination. The mixed schools can only offer a personal philosophy, ideals and moral standards, things which can be said to be common to all religions and all denominations. These things can be changed or adapted to the demands of a secularised state while the children are being adapted to its demands. This is called an effort to make religion more 'relevant' to the needs of the children and the needs of the age. Another and more accurate name for that is totalitarianism."

If, therefore, discrimination and differences can be effectively argued from the religious and ethical points of view, even including the racial aspect by the Rev. F. M. Jones in *Yr Haul*, written for Welsh-speaking readers in a medium which is acutely conscious of the validity or morality, especially when such views are supported by a mass of scientific data, they can be held to be doubly relevant.

It was just this which Mr Weyl proved in several passages among which I cite:

> *Nation* is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, the ultimate literary and scholarly authority on English speech, as "an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organised as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory." The root of *nation* is *nasci*, meaning to be born, thus indicating the key rôle of lineage in nationality.
>
> In the United States the record now stretches over two centuries, almost exactly bisected by a civil war that many thought would reduce racial strife to inconsequential dimensions. The fact of the matter is that, after an historically unprecedented effort by the white majority to raise the Negro to the Whites' level, one spanning a generation and costing tens of billions of dollars, the conflict seems more irreconcilable than at any time in our history. The more the Negro is offered, not merely equality but preferential treatment, the more virulent seems his discontent. To the amazement of the liberals articulate Negro spokesmen have become increasingly violent and committed to the destruction of a society which has offered their race more material well-being and educational opportunity than it could get anywhere else on earth. The more the Negro is advanced by hot-house treatment and governmental favouritism, the more he rejects the community of American nationhood in favour of racist negritude.

I made much the same point in several passages of which I select this:



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"We must, I believe, face the fact that almost always the chatter about the colour problem refers to Negroes and Negroids. Apart from the politics (in the pejorative sense) of genuflecting to the Negro and Negroid U.N. lobby, there remains a certain scrupulosity among benevolent people who obscurely feel that they must redeem the near-past when Europeans in the West Indies and the Americas had Negro slaves. It may well be that not a few are aware of their own negrophobia against which they steel themselves and contend if they suspect it in others. It were almost idle to point to the fact that the slave trade was traditionally carried on by quasi-negroid Hausas among other indigenous African races, or that the Hamitic Ethiopian ruling class held slaves (and, I believe, still does hold them) until Mussolini abolished slavery in Ethiopia. In the same way it were idle to show them that the Bantu were aggressive enemies of the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa when the Dutch settled there. What I may call 'Uncle Tom's Cabinery' provides them with the myth."

Therefore, there would appear to be a concensus of opinion, derived from a variety of disciplines, to justify the validity of the necessity to see discrimination and differences as valid entities in themselves.

It does not seem to me, in view of all this, that awareness of racial differences is unethical, while to ignore such differences might well be.



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# Book Reviews

## CHRISTIANITY AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE WEST

By Revilo P. Oliver. Sterling Enterprises, Virginia, 1973. Pp. 85. Price $1.95.

Here and there the statements in this book are too sweeping, as there are some non-Europeans who are sincere Christians. But those apart, this book hits the heart of the matter. Christianity is the European religion, and it follows in direct succession from the religions of Celts, Teutons, Romans, and Greeks, which were much closer than is formerly thought, and the religion as taught by Christ, one in which Hellenism and Iranian thought had its place. The Semitic world rejected it for Islam. Sight must not be lost of the fact that all the disciples of Christ, except Judas Iscariot, were Galileans — and the Galileans even to this day are a fair people. Israel itself had its origins in the Nordic world as I have shown in *The Syro-Mesopotamian Ethnology as Revealed in Genesis X*. Therefore, it is not surprising that with these foundations woven throughout the Old Testament and the Hellenism of a later period, Christianity should have had an appeal to the West. But this was lost, in the main of the Brown elements of the Caucasoid race, and they lapsed from Paganism into Islam in the West, and into Islam and Hinduism in the East.

Certainly nationalistic considerations are very strong in these matters. For instance on 13th October 1973 a Coptic Bishop in Egypt was clamouring to be taken into the army to fight Israel! Although, in his case, the Copts are the real Egyptians, the Islamic are not, and the Jews whom he is clamouring to fight are a European people who should have more affinity with him and his Copts!

The statement that the "lie detector" when applied to the Koreans and Chinese was a failure (p. 17), because they are differently constituted, is interesting — more than interesting as it shows the difference of constitution.

The catastrophic decline of Christianity, and the near agnosticism of many of the clergy, has led to the Churches all too frequently preaching social gospel and nothing else.

There is so much more in this book which is of interest, even if all the statements may not be accepted by all, that I feel it should be read, as it throws light on the reasons why Christendom and Europeans came to be interchangeable terms.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

## EDUCABILITY AND GROUP DIFFERENCES

By Arthur R. Jensen. Methuen, London, 1973. Pp. 407. Price £3.90. (U.S. edition, Harper and Row, $10.00.)

Unlike his *Genetics and Education*, this book is not a collection of Jensen's published essays, but a systematic application of Mendelian genetics to group differences in intelligence and its hereditability. Based partly on the variance analysis methods of Sir Ronald A. Fisher, geneticists have devised means of breaking down the extent to which the variability of any trait in a population is determined by heredity and environment. These techniques have been refined in recent years largely because of the practical requirements of farmers and cattle and poultry men who must be able to make rational economic choices between improving the breed (heredity) or improving nutrition and soil (environment).



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Unfortunately, Jensen and most of his hostile critics inhabit different worlds. The latter are frequently "social scientists," who tend, as Cattell has cogently observed, to be ideological propagandists in scientific masquerade and whose ignorance of both science and mathematics is at times appalling. On this point, Jensen (p. 1) states:

> The modern genetic view of man calls for a revolution in our thinking, in our whole orientation. It demands on everyone's part an even more drastic reorientation of thinking than was required by other historical revolutions of thought, such as the Copernican, Darwinian, and Einsteinian revolutions. The Mendelian revolution (and Fisher's pioneering extensions of Mendelian genetics to polygenic systems) is already established in biological science, but it has not yet filtered into other domains. The Mendelian revolution, if it can be called that, has not yet influenced social scientists on any large scale; it has not characterized the thinking of our social policy makers, and it is totally foreign to the general public, which in terms of thinking genetically in the modern sense is surely at the flat earth stage of scientific sophistication. The educational task that is called for is awesome.

After a rigorous definition of the problem and an exposition of the mathematical and statistical methods to be applied, Jensen deals systematically with the various objections that have been raised to the hypothesis that the gap between Blacks and Whites in I.Q. is primarily the result of hereditary rather than environmental factors.

Much of this is old and well-travelled ground to readers of THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, but Jensen's treatment has a precision that most prior approaches lacked and is therefore worth careful study.

Among the red herrings that have been strewn in the path of the geneticist who approaches problems of group differences in I.Q. are the assertion that intelligence tests merely reflect the values of (and measure the individual's adjustment to) middle class culture. The simplest refutation of this naive veiw is that I.Q. is as predictive of academic learning capacity among Blacks as among Whites. Jensen provides sophisticated manipulations of I.Q. data which decisively refute this viewpoint.

The assertion that the Negro lag in I.Q. is due to cultural deprivation is refuted by the fact that the shortfall of Blacks in I.Q. is most marked in those tests, or portions of tests, calling for abstract thought and least on those which are primarily verbal and which call upon memory. Then there is the assertion that lack of rapport between the Blacks tested and white test administrators causes part of the I.Q. gap, a view that has been refuted by several controlled experiments. Others maintain that malnutrition is the cause of low Negro intelligence, but Jensen shows that to have this effect, malnutrition must be extremely severe and that no such condition prevails among the great majority of American Negroes.

The book under review casts light on specific differences in mentality between Negroes and Whites, such as reaction time and pursuit rotor performances.

Citing this reviewer, Jensen shows the comparative contributions of Whites, Negroes, Indians, Japanese and Chinese to 1960 U.S. professional employment and observes:[1]

> If prejudice and discrimination are more important than abilities in determining a group's representation among the professional classes, then it should be puzzling that two minorities — the Japanese and Chinese — who have also been subject to discrimination and other

[1] Page 253, citing Nathaniel Weyl, "Some Comparative Performance Indexes of American Ethnic Minorities," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. IX, No. 3, January-March 1969, pp. 106-128.



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social disadvantages in the United States should have considerably higher indices than the white majority.

Jensen shows that the American Indians are further behind the Negroes in economic status than the latter are behind the white majority, yet they score markedly higher than Blacks on I.Q. tests.[2]

The genetic ignorance of most social scientists is illustrated by Gross's 1967 study of Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jewish children in Brooklyn. Finding that the latter scored consistently higher on mental tests, Gross concluded that the reason was that Ashkenazic mothers placed a greater value on learning than on wealth![3] An equally appalling instance of slipshod thinking is Christopher Jencks' assertion that Jensen's belief that black-white I.Q. differences are mainly hereditary in causation is refuted by that fact that "Jewish children also do better on I.Q. tests than Christians at the same socioeconomic level, but very few people conclude that Jews are genetically superior to Christians."[4] Jensen (p. 60) retorts mildly that the fact that Jewish children average 8 to 10 points higher on I.Q. tests "does not make it an unreasonable hypothesis that genetic factors are involved in this subpopulation difference as well as many others."

The book under review is probably as definitive a resolution of the black-white-I.Q.-gap problem as we are likely to see. It makes further debate on the issue, in this reviewer's opinion, superfluous. Dr Jensen's unhurried, calm, impersonal and reasoned replies to his many critics are slowly creating an upheaval in the social sciences on this issue. The tempo of intellectual progress may seem glacial to the impatient, but perhaps one can comment with Galileo, "Eppur si muove."

NATHANIEL WEYL

## COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF THE THIRD WORLD

By Edward Taborsky. Robert Speller, New York, 1973. Seven tables. Price $12.50.

Edward Taborsky was the personal aide to the late President Benes. He is now a professor at the University of Texas and his book deals with the Communist strategy of the "Third World."

On the question of race he says: "As reported by many of the Third World students, especially Africans, who have studied in communist countries, they are often looked upon by the man-in-the-street as strange and deeply alien characters free-loading at his expense, 'eating out' his country and enjoying undeservedly all sorts of privileges. They have experienced ostracism, social rebuffs, humiliations and insults, especially when trying to socialise with local girls. There have been a number of instances of African students being beaten up because of their real or alleged relations with the opposite sex and the girls willing to go out with them have been warned, threatened and vilified. Claiming racial discrimination, several hundreds of African students have time and again responded by cutting short their studies in communist countries and leaving either for home or the West."

[2] Page 245. The Coleman Report reported that first-grade White children averaged 54.1 on the non-verbal portions of an intelligence test, Indian children 53.0, and Negro children 43.4 (50 being the overall national average).

[3] M. Gross, "Learning Readiness in Two Jewish Groups," Center for Urban Education, New York, 1967.

[4] Christopher Jencks, "Intelligence and Race: What Colour is I.Q.?" *New Republic*, 13th September 1969, 10-11, pp. 25-29.



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## PRE-COLUMBIAN CITIES

By Jorge E. Hordoy, translated by Judith Thorne. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1973. Pp. 602, 84 diagrams, 83 photographs. Price £7.95.

This is a monumental work. The author explores, and demonstrates with maps, the Aztec Tenochtitlan, now Mexico City, and Inca Cuzco. He holds that they are, or were, the most advanced civilisation of Central America. He explores also the cities of Tula, Monte Albán, Teotihuacán, and many more, which were already in ruins when the Spaniards came. There is an adequate index and bibliography.

To anyone working in this field this work is invaluable. It is well produced, and is a credit to author and publisher.

## MEN OF THE NORTH

By R. Cunliffe Shaw. Published by the author. Printed by Leyland Printing Co. Ltd., Leyland, Preston. Pp. 430, 16 plates.

This is a prehistoric and historical ethnology of the whole region from Northern Ireland, Man, Clyde-Forth, and Wales, and northwards of those regions. It also seeks to explain the position of Iona in the civilisation not only of the Celtic world, but also of the Angles.

The author points to the evidence from the first millennium B.C. of clear cultural relations along a belt from Northern Ireland to the north of England and Scotland to as far north as Sutherland, and taking in the Isle of Man. In Ireland, in the early Iron Age, south of a line from Dublin to the Shannon is almost barren of "finds" (p. 3).

The continuity of peoples before and after the Roman epoch in Britain lay at the basis of northern civilisation, particularly in the eastern component of the north Irish Sea axial principalities.

Incidentally, the remains of horse skeletons at Newstead, on the Tweed, show several breeds of horses, some of 14½ hands, comparable to the modern high-caste Arabs, others well-bred ponies of 13 hands. These compare with the Celtic horses described by Herodotus (p. 11).

The writer shows that the horses reared in the North required corn, and that this could not have come from mere crofts using the *caschrom* (foot-plough). We need pay no attention to the Romans when they ascribe a crude standard of living to the Iceni, or talk of "naked Caledonians" who are said to have lived on nuts and the chase, eschewing fish (p. 12).

This is one of the most important works written on northern ethnology. The author also sees what has been my contention from the time of a student, when I dared to cross-examine Professor Basil Williams publicly in the British history class at Edinburgh, that *Comites Littoris Saxonies* meant what it said — Court of the Saxon Shore. The east coast was already settled by Saxons in Roman times, and it did not refer to a shore being attacked by them.

The author shows clearly that what we know of Caledonian, British and Saxon history is bowdlerised in favour of the Church of Rome's account on the one hand, and the Saxon on the other.

The writer shows that the Anglo-Saxons were not only settled in Eastern Britain during the Roman times, and were partly British in origin, but there is no substance in the Hengist and Horsa story and for the coming of the English. No doubt there was a steady trickle of English into the East, and at some date after the Roman collapse they became strong enough even to challenge the Celts, and, eventually, Anglicised England and the south of Scotland. As I have said, this was the very



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point on which, as a student, I challenged Professor Basil Williams. However, as a student, I had not the vast learning on this issue as is portrayed by the author.

This is the best book written on the subject of early Celtic civilisation of Britain and it deserves to be studied by every library and individual interested in the subject.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

RITUAL IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RITUALISM IN MODERN ENGLAND

By Robert Bocock. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1947. Pp. 209, 29 illustrations. Price £4.

The theme of this book is that there is a far greater need of rituals in modern industrial societies than is generally realised. They provide meaning to the people. Schools, gangs, political parties and trade unions, act as the family, or the clan, used to do. It deals with the relation between religion and ritual in the arts.

The writer is Robert Bocock, lecturer in sociology at Brunel University since 1966.

A NEW MORALITY FROM SCIENCE: BEYONDISM

By Raymond B. Cattell, Pergamon Press, New York, Toronto, Oxford, 1972. Pp. 482.

The volume under review is a revolutionary and comprehensive attempt to formulate a new system of ethics on the basis of biology, genetics and psychology. It explores some of the implications of this system for the political organisation of the nation-state, co-existence between different cultural, racial and ideological power systems, freedom v. authority, the structure of natural rights, and a variety of other institutions and issues. The author has been in the forefront of the evolving science of psychology over the past 30 years and has pioneered in applying multivariate analysis to human personality.

Dr Cattell proceeds from the basic premise that morality must regain the same sort of objective foundations that it enjoyed during the age of religious faith. If ethics are merely reflections of subjective preference, the mainspring of moral human action is snapped. Cattell concludes essentially (as I did in a recent article)[1] that modern ethics must be predicated on continuing human evolution and on the survival and development of *Homo sapiens* as a species.

Consequences of the most far-reaching sort follow from this disarming major premise. For example, the preservation of primitive human, and for that matter animal, societies and species from extinction remains eminently desirable, provided preservation means keeping enough of them alive so that they can be studied and so that their gene pools are not irretrievably lost. But conservation in the sense of maintaining their approximate numbers means inhibiting those great evolutionary processes which adjust life to its habitats, which involve the emergence and submergence of species and races, and which brings about improved adaptations not merely by the agency of birth, but also by that of death.

Applying some of these considerations to man, Cattell suggests that the mean time-span between the generations will increase substantially.

[1] Nathaniel Weyl, "Evolution and Ethics," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. XIII, No. 1, July-September 1972, pp. 34-48.



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Society, he believes, will encourage a much larger frequency of pregnancy among the women of the advanced nations. The main agency of natural selection will cease to be the harsh forces of premature death and reproductive disability. Amniocentesis (the extraction of tissue from the embryo and its examination for crippling genetic disabilities) may become the major element in selection, the significantly defective foetuses being aborted.

Dr Cattell's work is a powerful assault on the dominant ideology of egalitarianism in both ethics and the social sciences. He is one of the few contemporary social scientists who shows an awareness of the key rôle of *envy* in reinforcing destructive movements for limitless social welfare, for the lavish support of parasitic classes and racial groups, and for the advance of socialist dogma throughout the modern world. Yet he seems unaware of Helmut Schoeck's classic study of that subject.[2]

What is probably the most decisive objection to egalitarian ethics and to all the rules of social conduct that follow from it is relegated to a footnote. "The advance of the human species in sheer brain capacity during the next thousand years," Cattell writes, "may well make the difference between survival and catastrophe, since quite complex problems from the crowding of our own planet will challenge our intelligence. Such a demand for genetic selection in a comparatively short time can certainly be met, granted a readiness to re-examine our values in favor of evolutionary goals."[3]

There is the implication that human groups which lack the mental capacity to adapt to the increasingly exigent demands which man's habitat imposes on his intelligence should be humanely phased out by restricting their reproduction. Dr Cattell notes that British resentment of massive immigration of West Indians and Pakistanis has been aimed impartially at both groups despite the fact that the injection of low-I.Q. elements is primarily due to the West Indian, and not the Asian, infusion. On broader grounds, he suggests (p. 365) that "purely economic laws" should not hold sway in the area of immigration, but that "the idealism of a country in pursuing its own culturo-genetic experiment should override economics. . . . If one agrees with Shakespeare about 'this happy breed of men' who made English culture a force for good around the world, he will hesitate to being a party to changing it at its very source. . . ."

Among the other implications which flow from Dr Cattell's basic premise are that altruism is not necessarily a virtue. Where it is directed to parasitic social elements, which either refuse to make any productive contribution to society or are unable to do so, it may encourage their misconduct or their biological proliferation. Either is immoral.

Natural rights are non-existent as universals in the Cattell scheme of things, since the overriding requirements of species survival and evolutionary adaptation demand different responses under different circumstances.

Cattell draws a sharp distinction between within-group and among-groups morality. This is based partly on his supposition that a certain degree of racial and cultural isolation should be encouraged, so that different types of societies and peoples may emerge and stabilize themselves into subspecies. This, he considers, will create varying types of response to evolutionary challenge and preclude a state of affairs in which man's continued existence depends on only one set of responses, one cultural and racial structure, and one ideological system.

[2] Helmut Schoeck, *Envy: a Theory of Social Behaviour*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1969.

[3] Page 110, ftn. (5).



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For a variety of reasons, this basic distinction seems difficult to defend. The implied analogy with animal race-formation is vitiated by the facts that human societies are becoming increasingly monocultural, that ethnic mixture within nations is increasingly prevalent, and that the nation in no real sense corresponds to the evolving mammalian species. For one thing, multiracial nations and even multireligious nations seem to develop centrifugal forces they cannot control. Patriotism, the feeling and belief that nationality is the primary social bond, characterizes only those states and peoples who enjoy a threshold level of ethnic homogeneity and of shared history, institutions, beliefs and values.

Dr Cattell proceeds to elaborate an intricate system of human institutional relationships based on the ethics of Beyondism. Unfortunately, this seems to involve a transition from the objective level (that is to say, necessary inferences from the basic requirement of species survival) to the subjective. Moreover, Cattell claims for psychology, armed with the tools of multivariate analysis, a scientific authority which few observers believe it possesses.

The book under review would, I believe, have been more powerful had it been confined to an examination of the basic moral principles flowing from an evolutionary approach. Once that foundation had been firmly established, work on the superstructure could have proceeded. Nevertheless, it is an important work, one of several which has not received a fraction of the attention and acclaim it deserves.

NATHANIEL WEYL

## GENETICS AND EDUCATION

By Arthur R. Jensen. Harper and Row, New York, pp. 378. Price $10.00.

As readers of THE MANKIND QUARTERLY no doubt know, Professor Arthur R. Jensen published a 123-page article in the *Harvard Educational Review* for winter 1969 which aroused nationwide controversy and made its author the victim of scurrilous, unprincipled and, one must assume, deliberately mendacious attacks by leftwing professors and students.[1] The fury of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other rowdy organizations of mindless Marxism was reminiscent of the actions of Nazi student organizations some 40 years previously. Jensen's life was threatened; his classes had to be held secretly at times and with guards posted; he was accused of racism, nazism and the general litany of ideological offenses that the communistic element apply in these instances.

The *Harvard Educational Review* had invited Jensen to write the article, had suggested that he include a discussion of race in his paper, and had agreed to devote an entire issue to his contribution. Under pressure, the editors of that distinguished liberal quarterly took fright. They had devoted most of the issue following that in which Jensen's article appeared to rebuttal by his critics.[2] In the succeeding issue, more outside views were published and Jensen's rejoinder appeared. Under attack for having given Jensen such a magnificent forum, the editors first refused to make reprints of his article available, going to the extreme of declining to sell them to Dr Jensen. They then retreated to the equally untenable position that they would sell Jensen reprints only with the views of his critics appended. This involved the insulting implication that scholars were unable to judge the

[1] "How much can we boast I.Q. and scholastic achievement," *Harvard Educational Review*, Winter 1969, *39*, 1-123.

[2] These critics, particularly such distinguished ones as James F. Crow and Carl Bereiter, tended to disagree on secondary issues or on matters of emphasis.



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validity of Jensen's argument without the guidance of the Harvard Educational Review, that poison was being sold and that its antidote must be contained in the same package.

Since then, there have been strong and perceptible signs that the tide is at last turning. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, President Nixon's liberal advisor on domestic problems (of which, the Negro is almost invariably the most exigent and recalcitrant to solution), mildly observed to the Cabinet that they should read Jensen's article. In December 1973, *Psychology Today*, the most widely read periodical on that science in the United States, published a basic article by Jensen, which restated the evidence that the I.Q. gap between Whites and Blacks of about one standard deviation (15 I.Q. joints) was probably chiefly genetic in origin.[3]

Commenting on the Jensen experience, *Psychology Today's* senior editor, Berkeley Rice, detailed some of the attacks on hereditarian psychologists and geneticists by professors whose intellectual standards had been deemed above reproach. For example, Professor Martin Deutsch of New York University charged Jensen with "53 major errors or misrepresentations, all of unidimensional and all of them antiblack." He implied deliberate misrepresentation.

Jensen demanded that Deutsch specify the alleged errors, but Deutsch did not reply. Jensen referred the matter to the American Psychological Association's Committee on Ethical Standards. After two years of prodding, Deutsch finally came up with specific charges. Most were of trivial importance. Jensen refuted all of them without difficulty.

"All of these methods of attack," Rice observed, "seem out of place in a community of scholars supposedly committed to freedom of inquiry and the pursuit of truth." He wondered why the presidents of the universities and professional societies concerned had not condemned these tactics. A good question.

The core of the book under review is Jensen's path-breaking article, "How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement?" Its general content is probably too well-known by now to require extended treatment. Two basic points, however, require emphasis.

Here and in another article reprinted in the collection, "A theory of primary and secondary familial mental retardation," Jensen argues that there are two levels of intelligence. Level I can be equated to memory, practical judgment, mother wit. Level II is cognitive intelligence, abstract reasoning ability, Spearman's *g*. Jensen argues that the gap between Whites and Blacks is greatest at Level II and slight to minimal at Level I. Yet, bemused by egalitarian preconceptions, our educational system attempts to teach all pupils in Level II terms, thus inviting fiasco. In other words, Jensen's excursion into the nature of racial I.Q. difference was primarily motivated by an interest in finding techniques by which the majority of Blacks and a substantial minority of Whites could be taught effectively within the limits of their abilities for spatial conceptualization.

The second point requiring emphasis is Jensen's observation that Negro lower-class women have more children than their white counterparts, while Negro women married to professionals have fewer.[4] This provides a power-

[3] "The differences are real." *Psychology Today, 7*, 7, 80-86.

[4] In 1960, black women aged 35 to 44 married to unskilled laborers averaged 4.7 children, as against a mean of 3.8 for their white counterparts. Negro wives of professional and technical workers, however, averaged only 1.9 children as against 2.4 for similarly situated Whites. Part of the impact of this difference is that three of four Blacks failing the armed forces mental test (AFQT) came from families of four or more children.



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ful genetic basis for widening the I.Q. gap between the races. "Is there a danger," Jensen asks, "that current welfare policies, unaided by eugenic foresight, could lead to the genetic enslavement of a substantial segment of our population? The possible consequences of our failure seriously to study these questions may well be viewed by future generations as our society's greatest injustice to Negro Americans."[5]

One of the most admirable of the Jensen papers is entitled, "Let's understand Skodak and Skeels finally." This 1949 study of 100 illegitimate children born to mothers of below-average I.Q. showed a mean increase of 20 I.Q. points over that of their biological mothers after adoption and being reared in superior foster homes. This progess by the childen has been deemed telling evidence against high hereditability of I.Q.

Jensen shows in simple mathematical terms why the inference is invalid. First, assuming the fathers were of average I.Q., the midparent I.Q. is not 85.7 (I.Q. of the mothers), but 92.85. Making allowance for regression on the mean and for the fact that the adopting families were probably of significantly higher than average I.Q., the 20-point gap is in conformity with Jensen's estimate of hereditability.[6]

These papers are well worth reading and having in permanent form in any library concerned with issues of race and anthropology. Jensen's sophisticated and impeccable techniques have brought the argument about the hereditary factor in racial I.Q. differences out of the realm of dissension and prejudice and into that of mathematical and statistical analysis.

NATHANIEL WEYL

## THE INEQUALITY OF MAN

By H. J. Eysenck. Temple Smith, London. Pp. 288. Price £3.

This volume has two chief objectives. The first is to review the evidence for the considerable importance of genetic factors in the determination of human intelligence and a number of personality characters such as extraversion, emotionality and dominance. Professor Eysenck does the job with his usual competence and incisiveness. The coverage of the literature is thorough and up to date and even those who consider themselves well informed in this field are likely to find accounts of at least a few recent studies unknown to them. The general conclusion here is that genetic factors account for around 70 to 80 per cent of the variance for intelligence in advanced societies and also make a substantial contribution to a number of major personality traits.

The second purpose of the book is to point out some of the implications of these facts for social policy. The most important is simply that the egalitarian ideal is doomed to failure. There is no political programme that can make all individuals equal and the same applies to the average levels of intelligence in different social classes and certain racial groups in society. We cannot expect that the abolition of intelligence tests or of grammar schools will somehow abolish the fact that middle class children tend to be more intelligent than working class children, and tend to do better both in school and in life.

Rather than striving vainly to engineer an unrealistic equality between individuals and social groups, politicians and administrators responsible for social policy would do far better to recognise the existence of biologically determined differences and base their social policies on these.

[5] Page 95 of original article.

[6] Moreover, the orphanage children offered for adoption are generally the most attractive and the most intelligent ones.



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For instance, in education we need a variety of different kinds of schools and curricula within schools, designed to cater for different levels and types of ability and personality. Similarly, in our attempts to raise intelligence levels we should do much better to direct our attention to the possibilities of drug treatments or other kinds of physiological attack, rather than attempt yet more remedial education programmes.

RICHARD LYNN

## I.Q. IN THE MERITOCRACY

By R. J. Herrnstein. Allen Lane, London. Pp. 193. Price £2.50.

There is considerable overlap between Professor Eysenck's book and that of Professor Herrnstein. The latter is concerned only with intelligence and not with personality traits, and gives an excellent account of the chief theories of the structure of intelligence and the arguments for its substantial genetic determination. Herrnstein is also concerned with the social implications of the genetic basis of both individual and class differences in intelligence. One of these is that the technological progress of industrialised societies is likely to bring about widespread unemployment among low intelligence groups, since they will lack the intelligence to handle the machines which will be increasingly employed for physical work. Another is that with advances in affluence and equality of opportunity, the social class structure is likely to crystallise into a system of several different castes with differing biological endowments which will be inherited down the generations. However, such an eventuality may be tempered by regression effects. These are by no means perfectly understood in human beings so that it is difficult to evaluate the plausibility of Herrnstein's predictions here.

This volume makes an excellent addition to the rigorous analysis of the inherited basis of human intelligence and personality and its social implications. We are living in a time when these subjects encounter intense ideological opposition whose strength is comparable to that met by Galileo and Darwin. No doubt truth will eventually prevail, as it did in these historical controversies, and to this end this book makes a valuable contribution.

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